



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

October 29, 1964

CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP ESTIMATE BY GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, CP, USA, AT PRESS
CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 26, 1964

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that at a press conference at the Sheraton Palaca Hotel, San Francisco, on October 26, 1964, GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, was asked by one of the reporters present what was the membership of the Communist Party in the United States. Source reported that HALL's verbatim response to this question was as follows:

"Communist Party membership is a guess, but is a good guess. It is more than a guess. It is some knowledge of the activities on our part. I have said right along that the membership, that is those who consider themselves members of the Communist Party, is around ten thousand. And then the other question asked is about the close sympathizers. I think that it is a very good guess that it could be around ninety thousand, making a total of one hundred thousand people who look toward or accept the policies and outlook of the Communist Party in the United States."

Source advised that then a newsman at this conference asked if this figure indicated that their Party membership was gaining or falling off or on a plateau. Source advised that HALL's verbatim response to the second question was as follows:

"The influence of the Communist Party which would include the ninety or one hundred thousand has been gaining at a rather satisfactory rate now, for sometime. We feel that we have recouped, if not all, most of the losses that occurred during the so-called lean years of the Party influence and that this influence is growing right along now and that we feel rather satisfied with the developments as far as the policies and support for these policies are concerned."

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 31 1964	
NEW YORK	
Waters	

100-80638-2135

10/29/64

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AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-58)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26239)
SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Attached hereto are five copies of LHM containing remarks of GUS HALL relative to estimated CP, USA, membership and growth.

The source of information in LHM is DICK LEONARD, KCBS reporter, San Francisco, who recorded press conference of GUS HALL at Sheraton Palace Hotel, San Francisco, on 10/26/64.

3 - Bureau (REG)(Encls. 5)
2 - New York (REG)(Encls. 2)
 (1 - CP MEMBERSHIP)
 (1 - GUS HALL)(100-64994)
1 - San Francisco
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(6)

10/31/64

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100-80638-2136

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 31 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

TO: SAC,

- Albany
- Albuquerque
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- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
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- New York City

- Norfolk
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- Omaha
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- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
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- San Juan
- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield
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TO LEGAT:

- Bern
- Bonn
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- Manila
- Mexico, D.F.
- Ottawa
- Paris
- Rome
- Rio de Janeiro
- Tokyo

Date 11/12/64

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

For information Retention optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

100-80638-2137

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NOV 12 1964
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**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1964**

The following figures are set out according to states and territory, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES AND TERRITORIES

Alabama	2	Maine	0	Pennsylvania	118
Alaska	0	Maryland	37	Rhode Island	8
Arizona	19	Massachusetts	92	South Carolina	0
Arkansas	1	Michigan	180	South Dakota	0
California	911	Minnesota	156	Tennessee	0
Colorado	5	Mississippi	0	Texas	18
Connecticut	34	Missouri	41	Utah	15
Delaware	3	Montana	19	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	6	Nebraska	2	Virginia	5
Florida	21	Nevada	0	Washington	195
Georgia	4	New Hampshire	2	West Virginia	9
Hawaii	0	New Jersey	67	Wisconsin	102
Idaho	5	New Mexico	5	Wyoming	0
Illinois	331	New York	1,431		
Indiana	38	N. Carolina	3	<u>Total</u>	<u>4,147</u>
Iowa	4	N. Dakota	22		
Kansas	4	Ohio	153	<u>Territory</u>	
Kentucky	4	Oklahoma	9		
Louisiana	6	Oregon	62	Puerto Rico	12

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	12	Indianapolis	38	Oklahoma City	9
Albuquerque	5	Jackson	0	Omaha	6
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	0	Philadelphia	103
Atlanta	3	Kansas City	6	Phoenix	19
Baltimore	40	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	24
Birmingham	1	Las Vegas	0	Portland	62
Boston	102	Little Rock	1	Richmond	4
Buffalo	20	Los Angeles	616	St. Louis	39
Butte	24	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	15
Charlotte	3	Memphis	0	San Antonio	6
Chicago	331	Miami	21	San Diego	31
Cincinnati	9	Milwaukee	102	San Francisco	264
Cleveland	144	Minneapolis	178	Savannah	1
Dallas	7	Mobile	1	Seattle	195
Denver	5	Newark	67	Springfield	0
Detroit	180	New Haven	34	Tampa	0
El Paso	2	New Orleans	6	Washington Field	6
Honolulu	0	New York	1,401		
Houston	3	Norfolk	1	<u>Total</u>	<u>4,147</u>
				San Juan	12

<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	34	Connecticut	34
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District	106	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	103 3
Illinois District	331	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only)	331 0
Indiana District	38	Indiana	38
Maryland-D. C. District (Listed Under Southern Region)			
Michigan District	180	Michigan	180
Minnesota-Dakota District	178	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	156 22 0
Missouri District	43	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	41 2 0
Montana District	19	Montana	19
New England District	104	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 0 2 92 8
New Jersey District	67	New Jersey	67
New York District	1,431	New York	1,431
Northern California District	273	California (North of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	273
Northwest District	200	Washington Idaho Alaska	195 5 0
Ohio District	156	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Section)	153 3

DISTRICTS - (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	10	Oklahoma Arkansas	9 1
Oregon District	62	Oregon	62
Southern California District	638	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Kern Counties)	638
Southern Region	100	Alabama	2
		Florida	21
		Georgia	4
		Kentucky	0
		Louisiana	6
		Mississippi	0
		South Carolina	0
		Tennessee	0
		Texas (excluding 17 western counties)	16
		(Proposed but unconfirmed new enlarged Maryland- D. C. District)	
		Maryland, District of Columbia Virginia & North Carolina District	
		Maryland	37
		District of Columbia	6
		Virginia	5
		North Carolina	3
Utah District	15	Utah	15
Western Pennsylvania	15	Pennsylvania (Western)	15
Wisconsin District	102	Wisconsin	102
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	45	Arizona	19
		Colorado	5
		Hawaii	0
		Iowa	4
		Kansas	2
		Nebraska	2
		Nevada	0
		New Mexico	5
		Texas (17 western counties)	2
		West Virginia (Exclusive of the four panhandle counties)	6
		Wyoming	0
<u>Total</u>	4,147	<u>Total</u>	4,147
TERRITORIAL POSSESSION	12	Puerto Rico	12

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>12/31/63</u>	<u>3/31/64</u>	<u>6/30/64</u>	<u>9/30/64</u>
Albany	12	11	11	12
Albuquerque	5	5	5	5
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	6	4	3	3
Baltimore	40	40	40	40
Birmingham	1	1	1	1
Boston	105	103	104	102
Buffalo	21	21	21	20
Butte	25	24	24	24
Charlotte	1	3	3	3
Chicago	338	339	335	331
Cincinnati	9	9	9	9
Cleveland	144	144	144	144
Dallas	7	7	7	7
Denver	5	5	5	5
Detroit	188	180	180	180
El Paso	2	2	2	2
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	3	3	3	3
Indianapolis	41	40	38	38
Jackson	--	--	--	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	7	7	6	6
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	4	0	0	0
Little Rock	1	1	1	1
Los Angeles	642	614	620	616
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	2	7	21	21
Milwaukee	104	102	102	102
Minneapolis	148	176	180	178
Mobile	1	1	1	1
Newark	74	74	74	67
New Haven	36	34	34	34
New Orleans	6	6	6	6
New York	1,333	1,348	1,407	1,401
Norfolk	1	1	1	1
Oklahoma City	9	9	9	9
Omaha	5	6	6	6
Philadelphia	109	104	105	103
Phoenix	22	19	19	19
Pittsburgh	27	25	25	24
Portland	56	62	61	62
Richmond	7	7	6	4

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (con't)

	<u>12/31/63</u>	<u>3/31/64</u>	<u>6/30/64</u>	<u>9/30/64</u>
St. Louis	36	39	39	39
Salt Lake City	15	15	15	15
San Antonio	6	6	6	6
San Diego	32	32	31	31
San Francisco	296	285	284	264
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	217	205	202	195
Springfield	0	0	0	0
Tampa	0	0	0	0
Washington Field	7	7	7	6
<hr/>				
<u>TOTALS</u>	4,157	4,134	4,204	4,147
San Juan	11	12	12	12

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC (100-4931)

DATE: 11/17/64

FROM : SA (#42)

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SUBJECT: CP, USA

On October 21, 1964, at 9:15 p.m. and on October 23, 1964, at 9:30 a.m. on the radio program entitled "Last Minute" over the radio station WBAI-FM a taped interview was held by LARRY BURNS with MILTON ROSEN, RICHARD GARZA and ROBERT THOMPSON. This program was entitled "The Many Sided Left" and each individual was interviewed separately by BURNS.

MILTON ROSEN who was introduced as a member of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) stated that this organization was a revolutionary socialist organization that bases its ideas and activities on the science of Marxism and Leninism. It is the only socialist society through which the people can achieve their needs and desires both in an economic and cultural sense. PLM has been in existence for

1-100-118174 (MILTON ROSEN) (#44)
1-100-147372 (PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT) (#44)
1- (RICHARD GARZA) (#44)
1-100-4013 (SWP) (#44)
1-100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#42)
1-100-26603 (CP, USA, NYC) (#42)
1-100-79717 (CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITY) (#42)
1-100-89590 (CP, USA, STRATEGY AND INDEPENDENCE) (#42)
1-100-89691 (CP, USA DEM ADM) (#42)
①-100-80638 (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#42)
1-100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNAL RELATIONS)
1-100-138651 (BILL EPTON)
1-100-79498 (CP, USA VETERANS MATTERS)
1-100-80644 (CP, USA YOUTH MATTERS)
1-100-153735 (CIRM) (#42)

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3 years and has been doing the best it can to combat the wholesale assault on the economic conditions of the American workers and to combat the recent racial oppression against the Negro people and to fight the ever growing danger of war from the KENNEDY JOHNSON Administration.

According to ROSEN PLM is working to build a broad anti-Fascist movement in the US that can successfully defeat the attack against the American people and lay the basis of a powerful socialist revolutionary movement in this country.

ROSEN listed what he considered to be the differences between PLM and the CP by saying that the CP is no longer a Marxist-Leninist organization. He charged that it was essentially an appendage of the reform Democratic movement in the sense it has no independent line and it no longer in any degree of consistency advocates openly socialism. In election period after election period he charged, the CP trails after the Democratic Party and supports the MEANY-REUTHER leadership in the labor movement and in short, tends to obscure the role American imperialism plays on the world scene. The role that the American imperialism plays on the world scene is a counter revolutionary role and therefore, the CP has degenerated into a small isolated sect and no longer has any influence among the people.

On the other hand, PLM has a consistent militant position on the foreign policy of the US ruling class and its government in Washington, D.C. It openly advocates socialism and defends the right to revolution and militantly fights for fundamental changes within the country which effects the working people of "our" country.

ROSEN stated that in view of the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute that PLM being a Marxist-Leninist Movement attempts to develop the science of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the conditions of "our" country.

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However, the line that Marxism-Leninism is an international science and is applicable to the development of the workers movement all over the world, it is "in our opinion" that the Chinese Communist Party is following the correct Marxist-Leninist path.

In reply to a question whether PLM discriminated in anyway between the candidacy of President JOHNSON and Senator GOLDWATER ROSEN stated "in our opinion" the American working people and the people generally in the country have no stake in the outcome of this election. According to him both candidates represent unbridled action and follow policies advocating programs that are contrary to the interest of the American people. He stated that the KENNEDY JOHNSON Administration has been the most ruthless administration that the American people had had to suffer with since the 2 party system had developed. They have consistently pursued a policy of counter revolution abroad and consistently pursued a policy of severe oppression against the people at home. ROSEN stated that if you look any place in the world where the people are fighting to improve their living and working conditions you will find the KENNEDY JOHNSON Administration acting to subvert them and to destroy them through means of force and violence.

ROSEN in this interview stated that since PLM'S conception they have suffered constant harassment by other agencies of the government because the government fears the ideas of revolutionary socialism and fears to let these ideas contend among the people of the country. He mentioned that members of the PLM have been subpoenaed before the Senate Internal Security Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee and they have been subjected to surveillances of various types.

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In response to the question of where PLM obtains funds ROSEN stated that PLM is a mass organization and it has many members and sympathizers who support and respect the work of the movement and this is essentially where the funds come from. He estimated that PLM has 1100 members in the US with 300 of them in NYC.

In this interview ROSEN also stated that the government is concerned with PLM and has been trying to smash it and reduce the number of members in its organization. He stated that one BILL EPTON is under indictment and described EPTON as "one of our leaders of our movement the Chairman of our Harlem Branch."

ROSEN stated that he believed that PLM would continue to expand in the future because the policies that the organization is pursuing in regards to the needs and aspirations of the people of the US are sound. He stated that the people's needs cannot be satisfied under the present system which is capitalism. Instead, the conditions are worsening. At this time he criticized Mayor WAGNER in regards to the conditions in NYC regarding unemployment, wages, schools and hospitals. WAGNER he stated is not a friend of the working man, his record on this bears him out. Rather, he is an employee of the big monopolies in NYC. He works for them and not for the people of NYC.

Following ROSEN BURNS then interviewed RICHARD GARZA who was described as the senatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party(SWP) in NY. He asked GARZA to describe the SWP's ideology.

GARZA stated that the SWP's ideology is based on the fact that "we" believe that the working class in the minority people must take their own fate in their own

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hands and remake society that it serves their interest and purpose. According to GARZA, the SWP feels that these people need a party to help them carry out their fate and therefore, the SWP is organizing and building such a party. It is a Marxist party build on the idea that there is a class struggle and that the workers will need leadership that can orient them toward establishing a workers party.

In distinguishing the SWP from the CP GARZA stated that the CP has a policy of supporting the Democratic Party as they feel they can reform the Democratic Party and thus by reforming it they can reform the capitalistic society. On the other hand the SWP feels that they have to oppose the party of big business and to raise the banner so to speak of the independent class political action, and , in this election the SWP is running a campaign.

In regard to the number of members that are in the SWP GARZA stated that "we usually don't mention that," however, he did state that in the last election campaign in NY State the SWP had received 40,000 votes.

In regard to the position the SWP has taken on the Sino-Soviet dispute GARZA stated that his party feels that there is right and wrong on both sides. He stated that the SWP feels the Chinese are correct when they criticize the Soviet leadership for being reactionary and for not representing the interests of their own people at home or the interests of the colonial people who are fighting for national liberation. However, the SWP disagrees with the Chinese when they feel they can or should turn back to STALIN and that they oppose the Democratic concessions that have been granted by KHRUSHCHEV'S leadership in Russia to the Soviet masses.

The third person to be interviewed by BURNS was ROBERT THOMPSON who he introduced as a member of the CP who has been both a war hero by winning the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in the South Pacific Theater of World War II and a convicted

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violator of the Smith Act having served a 5 year sentence in Federal Prison for this. BURNS made the statement that THOMPSON had been granted total disability pension for wounds suffered in the course of World War II but that the Veteran's Administration had revoked this pension because of speeches THOMPSON had made during the Korean War. He mentioned that THOMPSON is presently litigating to have his pension rights restored.

THOMPSON was asked what the CP is currently doing today. He replied that the central activity of the CP is around the current elections and that "my party" considers this the most important election to the American people since the ROOSEVELT period. It is important because the GOLDWATER candidacy and the forces behind him pose for the first time in a serious way a fascist threat to this country. THOMPSON also stated that the CP does not endorse President JOHNSON but in fact there are sharp differences existing in life between what JOHNSON represents and GOLDWATER represents that do not arise from any special merits of JOHNSON but rather because of the very grave threat to Democracy and to the world peace that GOLDWATER represents. He pointed out that the CP is critical of JOHNSON'S administration particularly in South Vietnam.

In describing why the Party did not run any candidates in this election THOMPSON stated that it is not a decision or desire on "our part" of not running candidates but it is not done because of repressive legislation such as the McCarran Act and numerous State laws that hinder in many instances and virtually make impossible for any but the 2 major parties to field candidates with any meaning. He stated that the CP hopes for the repeal of this repressive legislation as early as possible and that when this occurs the Party will

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run candidates as they have done on numerous occasions in the past. THOMPSON was asked what the CP sees in American society today and he replied that "we" first have a very deep confidence in the strength of the labor movement of the democratic organizations of the Negro Civil Rights movement and the party has a very great confidence despite the desires and intentions of those elements in our society that want to abandon Democratic procedures and would like to rush headlong into war despite the dangers that they pose. There is and will be realized a Democratic and peaceful path forward for the US. "We" are sure that some point in this path there will be a reorganization of the social system along socialist lines.

THOMPSON mentioned that there are 50 of the leading CP figures being prosecuted under the McCarran Act. There are numerous other harassments effecting the party's political rights, employment and membership. However, he stated that this persecution did not hurt the party as much as they hurt the whole fabric of "our society" and as much as they poison the Democratic atmosphere of the country.

In regards to the Sino-Soviet dispute, THOMPSON stated that the Soviet Union is pursuing a very active foreign policy the most basic feature of which is to foster and promote an atmosphere of peace in the world, and a situation of peaceful co-existence. Unfortunately, the Chinese party leadership does not have the same understanding and grasp of the central features of the world situation and therefore are not pursuing that kind of policy. This is regrettable but "I" am sure the fundamental interests of the Chinese people will exert themselves and the Chinese-Soviet conflicts to the extent that they exist will be eliminated.

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In response to the question does the Party have any influence left within the trade union movement or within various minority groups in America in comparison to what the Party had in 1930, THOMPSON stated that numerically of course as a result of the persecution and other means of the MC CARTHY period the Party is at a low ebb. He stated that the Party does not have any public membership lists or anything of that kind but its membership is in the neighborhood of 10,000 members. Its main base of influence is in the trade unions and the Negro peoples organizations. "We" do not have what can be called leadership of any sector of the labor movement but our people are active in it.

THOMPSON denounced PLM by stating that it is essentially in most respects a continuation of the Trostyite movement. It does not have any real relationship to scientific socialism and in fact in the main its activities are sort of radical petty bourgeois in nature and they play a very provocative role in a number of situations.

THOMPSON stated that the Party is very happy that they have some very "fiery" young people in the process who are joining and helping to take over the leadership of the CP and therefore the Party is not disappearing from the American scene. In fact, the growth of the struggle and influence of the labor movement and the progressive trend of the labor movement the CP will have a bright future ahead of it.

THOMPSON defended the Party and stated that it is not fading away and stated that it is not a bleak outlook for the Party in the US because (1) the fight for peace is in the process of being won and that although it will take time it is being won (2) fear from slipping backward in a reactionary direction the winning of certain civil rights demands, the heroic struggle being waged in the South for the right to vote for the Negro people that all of these

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things will work very well in the future for the CP.

"Our" Party will grow and advance as the American working classes advance as the struggle for Democracy in our country advances. He also mentioned that the Party is very happy in getting its viewpoint before college groups. He said that within the past 2 or 3 years by invitation Communist speakers have spoken directly to over 100,000 students in college campuses.

He stated that because of the basic soundness of the CP policies in the current election the Party will play a larger part in the American life in the future. He then urged everyone listening to him to read the pamphlet put out by GUS HALL whom he described as the leading spokesman of our Party in this country analyzing the political situation in the country today.

g/2/11

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C2065)

DATE: 11/27/

FROM: SA [redacted] (#41)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - NYD, LMA
HENRY FORBES CLUB
IS - C

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

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b7D

Description of Info: Meeting of Forbes Club of CP, 11/16/64

Date Received: 11/19/64

Received By: SA [redacted] (written)

Original Location: [redacted]

A copy of informant's written report follows:

- [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (CP, USA-NYD) (45)
- 1 - NY 100-273 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-68063 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-139622 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-108150 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-81394 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-139283 [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-93665 [redacted] 5)
- 1 - NY 100-79717 (CP, USA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-128812 (CP, USA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-93572 (NATIONAL GUARDIAN) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-138948 (ESTC) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-154222 (PHOENIX REFORM DEM. CLUB) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-154002 (ICSP) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CPUSA- MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (CPUSA- MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-128814 (CPUSA- ORGANIZATION) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C2065 (45)

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NOV 27 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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NY 100-26603-C2065

Nov 17 1964
N.Y.C.

On Nov 16 1964 there was a meeting of the Forbs Club of the Communist Party at [REDACTED] N.Y.C.

Attending

[REDACTED]

Chaired

[REDACTED]

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The results of the National Elections was discussed. Led by [REDACTED] supplemented by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] reported mostly on the actual results in various sections of N.Y.S. [REDACTED] said that the C.P. had taken the proper stand and compared the stand of the C.P. to that of the ultra left and that taken by the National Guardian

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She said they took a position of indifference and did not bring out the danger of Goldwater and proposed No Vote. But the people just did not listen to them.

[REDACTED] suggested that the East Side Tenants Council try to get a legislative conference going with the Phenox Reform Dem's if possible

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[REDACTED] reported on the Independent Committee for social progress Housing Committee. He said that six of its members belong to the East Side Tenants Council. [REDACTED] said she thought that the E.S.T.C. people were wasting time with the Independent Committee she said it was made up of ultra left adventurists and should not be aided

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[] however said she thought the ESTC should stick with it for another two months and then evaluate the position of the Independent Committie at that time.

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During above meeting [] said that the Comrades should be on the look out for recruits

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C2065)

DATE: 11/27/64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (41)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, NYD - LMA
HENRY FORBES CLUB
IS-C

- [REDACTED]
- 1-NY 100-26603-C42 (CP, USA-NYD) (45)
 - 1-NY 100-273 [REDACTED] (45)
 - 1-NY 100-68063 [REDACTED]
 - 1-NY 100-106873 [REDACTED] }
 - 1-NY 100-93665 [REDACTED] (45)
 - 1-NY 100-139622 [REDACTED] (45)
 - 1-NY 100-139283 [REDACTED] (45)
 - 1-NY 100-81394 [REDACTED]
 - 1-NY 100-154002 (ICSP) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-138948 (ESTC) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-95014 [REDACTED] (45)
 - 1-NY 100-55621 [REDACTED] (45)
 - 1-NY 100-128812 (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
 - 1-NY 100-93572 (NATIONAL GUARDIAN) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-79717 (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
 - 1-NY 100-154222 (PHOENIX REFORM DEM. CLUB) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-138778 (CDC) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-139647 (MCOH) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-107631 [REDACTED] ()
 - 1-NY 100-142782 (NYSMS) (41)
 - 1-NY 100-134920 (STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION)(41)
 - 1-NY 100-80638 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (42)
 - 1-NY 100-128817 (CP, USA, NYD - MEMBERSHIP) (42)
 - 1-NY 100-128814 (CP, USA, NYD - ORGANIZATION) (42)
 - 1-NY 100-26603-C2065 (45)

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PJL:eac
(26)

Wym

100-80638-2140

Searched	Indexed
Serialized	Filed
NOV 27 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Mateer

NY 100-26603-C2065

Identity of source

[redacted] who has furnished
reliable information in the
past

Description of info

Meeting of Forbes Club of CP

Date received

11/19/64

Received by

SA [redacted] (written)

Original location

[redacted]

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A copy of informant's written report follows:

NY 100-26603-C2065

Nov. 17, 1964
N.Y. N.Y.

On Nov. 16 1964 the Forbes Club of the Communist Party met at the apartment of [redacted] in N.Y.C. Those present were:

[redacted] - Chaired meeting



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[redacted] reported on the Independent Committee for Social Progress on the Lower East Side. He said that 6 of the Housing Committee Members belong to the East Side Tenants Council. [redacted] said she thought the ESTC people were wasting time because the Independent Com. was made up of ultra left adventurists and should not be aided. She said "we" still don't know who started it.

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[redacted] said she didn't know who started it but she knew some of the leadership. She said she didn't know how the Party stood on [redacted] but he was co-chairman. She said she didn't know what they thought of [redacted] who was treasurer but she thought [redacted] had always done a good job in education. [redacted] said [redacted] was on the fringe and [redacted] said [redacted] had not done right by the party. [redacted] said she thought the ESTC should stick with it for another 2 months and evaluate it at that time.

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The results of the National election was discussed. The discussion was led by [redacted] and supplemented by [redacted]

NY 100-26603-C2065

[] reported on the actual results in various sections of NYS.

[] said that the CP had taken the proper stand and compared it to the stand taken by the National Guardian and the ultra left. She said theirs was a position of indifference and did not bring out the danger of GOLDWATER and proposed no vote. She said the people did not listen to them. [] said that the ESTC should try to get a legislative conference going with the Phoenix Reform Club.

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[] said it was important to join in the reform movement and work to build it.

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b7C

[] and [] discussed the Bazaar and urged that contributions be made.

[] announced that the Cooper Square Committee would have a vigil at Gracie Mansion from 5:30 PM on November 17 and the Metropolitan Council on Housing would have a demonstration at 2 Lafayette St on Nov. 18 from 12 to 2 PM.

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[] said [] father was probably some kind of socialist up in Buffalo and that [] was fooling around with the Socialists here.

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b7C

Next meeting at [] in 2 weeks.

[] gave out books of chances for the N.Y. School for Marxist Studies and Student Committee for Progressive Education.

b6
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During the above meeting [] asked that everyone be on the look out for people to recruit into the party.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SUPERVISOR X2

DATE 11-17-64

FROM : BULKY EXHIBITS SECTION (FILE 100-81635)

SUBJECT: EXHIBITS MAINTAINED IN RED ROPE
FOLDERS IN BULKY EXHIBIT VAULT

The Bulky Exhibit Section has instituted a project to have above captioned exhibits thoroughly reviewed for disposal or retention.

Attached are first and last sections of file referring to exhibits in question. The first section contains the green sheets listing the exhibits.

Each supervisor receiving a copy of this memorandum is requested to have the pertinent exhibits reviewed and fill in the spaces listed below. This memorandum is to be returned to the Bulky Exhibit Section by 11-24-64.

EXHIBITS TO BE DESTROYED: _____

EXHIBITS TO BE RETAINED: _____

REASON FOR RETENTION: Use in possible prosecution
& basis in Security investigation

EMPLOYEE REVIEWING EXHIBIT

Howken
100-81635-2141
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
NOV 17 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
Howken J. V. Watson

1/6/65

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
 FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32208)
 SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -
 MEMBERSHIP
 IS - C

Re Bureau airtel to all offices 12/3/64.

Set forth below is a chart reflecting up-to-date membership figures for the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD):

	<u>Positive Identifications</u>	<u>Tentative Identifications</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
24th Ward Club	12	0	9	3
Southwest Club	7	0	2	5
Unity Club	8	0	0	8
5th-6th CD Club	14	0	14	0
Professional Club	8	0	7	1
Youth Club	24	4	21	7
Bucks County Club	8	0	8	0
York-Lancaster, Pa. Club	4	0	4	0
Unassigned	10	0	7	3
	<u>95</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>27</u>
Delaware State	3	0	1	2
Grand Total	<u>98</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>29</u>

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-68)(RM)
- ① - New York (100-80638)(CP MEMBERSHIP)(Info)(RM)
- 3 - Philadelphia
 - 1 - 100-32208
 - 1 - 100-31723 (CP ORGANIZATION)
 - 1 - 100-1502 (CPEPD)

CJW:EMR
(7)

100-80638-3142

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 7 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

PH 100-32208

An explanation of the fluctuation in figures for the quarter ending 12/31/64 and the quarter ending 9/30/64 is set forth below:

(1) 24th Ward Club

On 12/10/64, [] advised that [] had been paying his CP dues through the [] members of the 24th Ward Club, but TOM NABRIED, District Chairman, had given instructions that [] should pay his dues through the district and not through the individual members. The local district has threatened to expell [] but has not officially dropped him from the membership rolls. b6 b7C b7D

[] has moved to New York City and has been dropped from this club. b6 b7C b7D

On 12/16/64, [] reported that [] had been transferred from the 24th Ward Club to the 5th-6th CD Club. Also, [] was transferred from the Transport Workers Club, which was disbanded, to the 24th Ward Club.

(2) Southwest Club

Unchanged.

(3) Unity Club

Unchanged.

(4) 5th-6th CD Club

On 12/11/64, [] advised that [] previously unassigned, was now assigned to the 5th-6th CD Club. b6 b7C b7D

As previously mentioned, [] is now a member of this club. b7D

(5) Professional Club

[] reported an individual named [] had been dropped from membership in this club. b6 b7C b7D

PH 100-32208

On 12/6/64, [redacted] advised that [redacted] previously tentative, was now positively identified as a member of the Professional Club.

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b7D

It is to be noted that [redacted] [redacted] the Professional Club because of a situational basis. This action is under appeal and the above figures [redacted]

b7D

(6) Youth Club

[redacted] previously reflected as a member of the Youth Club, is now unassigned.

[redacted] although Atlanta is office of origin, is still carried on the rolls of the Youth Club.

b6
b7C

On 12/16/64, [redacted] advised that [redacted] is no longer carried on the rolls as a CP member.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] and [redacted] are now residing in New York and that office is origin.

(7) Bucks County Club

Unchanged.

(8) York-Lancaster, Pa. Club

[redacted] has been dropped from membership in this club but the Party has been reluctant to personally notify him because of his mental condition. He continues to pay sustainers.

b6
b7C

(9) Unassigned

[redacted] previously assigned to the Youth Club, is presently unassigned.

b6
b7C

[redacted] a former member of the Transport Workers Club, has been unassigned since this club had disbanded.

(10) Delaware State

Unchanged.

PH 100-32208

On 12/16/64, [redacted] advised that the Press and the Transport Workers Club have been disbanded. The individual in the Press Club is presently unassigned, while [redacted] is also unassigned and [redacted] is presently assigned to the 24th Ward Club.

b6
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b7D

On 1/4/65, [redacted] orally advised that at a meeting of the District Board, CPEPD, held 1/3/65, [redacted] Organization Secretary, CPEPD, stated the local district had 105 members.

b6
b7C
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33745)

DATE: 1/13/65

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP, USA -
YOUTH MATTERS

Informant: [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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Activity: National meeting of youth of CP organized by CP National Youth Commission of CP, USA, held in Chicago

Date of Activity: 12/19-20/64

Date of Report: 12/21/64

Date Received: 12/21/64

Recommendation: Source on 12/30/64 identified photographs of [redacted]

[redacted] as being in attendance.

Source also identified photo of [redacted]

[redacted] as being identical to [redacted]

b6
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b7D

Offices receiving copies of this memo are requested to forward photos of individuals not fully identified who may have attended the meeting for exhibition to [redacted]

Location: Waters [initials]

100-80638
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 13 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

PHK/gp:vmm
(89)

Copies listed on ii page.

[Handwritten mark]

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 13 1965
FBI - CHICAGO

CG 100-33745

15 - New York (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
(GILBERT GREEN)

[REDACTED]

(STEVE LNU)
(HAL, WHITE, MALE, WORKS ON LOWER
EAST SIDE, NEW YORK)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-

[REDACTED]
(CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION
ISSUES)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CIRM)
(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
(CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
(STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)
(UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE, 5'10",
DARK BROWN SKIN, BIRTHMARK LEFT SIDE
OF FACE, SLENDER BUILD, WEARS GLASSES)

5 - Los Angeles (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
(DOROTHY HEALEY)
(TOM LNU, PARTICIPATED IN MISSISSIPPI
SUMMER PROJECT)
(PAUL LNU, TRUCK DRIVER)
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

5 - San Francisco (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)
[REDACTED]
(PEOPLE'S WORLD)
(FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT)

b6
b7c

CG 100-33745

3 - Detroit (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

[REDACTED]
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

4 - Milwaukee (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

[REDACTED]
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

2 - Atlanta (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

3 - Portland (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

[REDACTED]
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

3 - New Haven (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

(GENE LNU)

(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

4 - Boston (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

(BARBARA LNU)

(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

(STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)

3 - Seattle (RM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-

(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)

(JOHN LNU, BELIEVED POSSIBLY TO BE
BROTHER-IN-LAW OF [REDACTED])

1 - 100-

[REDACTED]
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

b6
b7c

CG 100-33745

3 - Cleveland (RM)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
(TOM LNU, FROM OBERLIN)
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

3 - St. Louis (RM)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)
[REDACTED]

2 - Philadelphia (RM)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
[REDACTED]
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

3 - Minneapolis (RM)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
[REDACTED]
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

1 - Omaha (RM)
1 - 100-
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

1 - Cincinnati (RM)
1 - 100-
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

1 - Houston (RM)
1 - 100-
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

1 - Dallas (RM)
1 - 100-
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

1 - El Paso (RM)
1 - 100-
(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)

26 - Chicago
[REDACTED]
1 - 100-3952
1 - 100-24800
(GIL GREEN)
(LOU DISKIN)

b6
b7C
b7D

CG 100-33745

1 - 100-40238
1 - 100-35700
1 - 100-40865
1 - 157-397
1 - 100-40342
1 - 100-8261
1 - 100-40903
1 - 100-18957
1 - 100-19491

1 - 100-17977

1 - 100-18953
1 - 100-41324
1 - 100-34438

1 - 100-19431

1 - 100-18952
1 - 100-18338
1 - 100-18956
1 - 100-18209

1 - 100-21957

1 - 100-17769
1 - 100-18963
1 - 100-18954



(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS)
(RAM)
(SNCC)
(NAACP)
(STUDENTS DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - YOUTH MATTERS)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - DOMESTIC
ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - POLITICAL
ACTIVITIES)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - CIRM)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - MASS
ORGANIZATION)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - STRATEGY IN
INDUSTRY)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - MEMBERSHIP)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - EDUCATION)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - EDUCATION)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS
& PUBLICATIONS)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ATTACKS
AGAINST THE FBI)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - FUNDS)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - FACTIONALISM)
(CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - LEGISLATION
MATTERS)

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PHK/gp:vmm
(89)

Chicago, Illinois
December 21, 1964

A national meeting of the youth of the Communist Party (CP), organized by the CP National Youth Commission of the CP, USA, was held in Chicago on December 19 and 20, 1964. The meeting was held Saturday, December 19, 1964, from 1 p.m. to approximately 9:30 p.m., and on Sunday, December 20, 1964, from 10 a.m. until approximately 2 p.m., at 333 West North Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. In attendance at the meeting were 23 delegates including four representing the adult CP. The representatives of the adult Party were:

GIL GREEN from the National Leadership;
DOROTHY HEALEY from Southern California;
EARL DURHAM from Chicago, and
LOU DISKIN from Chicago.

Other delegates were as follows:

From New York

[redacted]
RASHEED
STEVE

An unidentified Negro male
HAL, white, male, who works in the lower east
side in New York
[redacted]

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From Los Angeles

TOM who participated in the Mississippi project
last summer
PAUL who is a truck driver

From Northern California

[redacted] a reporter for the "Peoples World," Vice
President and Co-Chairman of the Du Bois Clubs.

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[redacted] report was, in essence, as follows:

The defeat of GOLDWATER was brought about by a broad coalition of labor, Negro people and youth. There was a high level of activity on the campuses during this election campaign. There was tremendous united front committees developed on every major campus. These united fronts represent a potential for continuous activity among the students for progress. The anti-communist campaign has been seriously weakened and unity has become possible based on common objectives against Goldwaterism. This was reflected in Berkeley, California, by the free speech movement. Also weakened was racism. The white backlash just was not a major feature of this election campaign. There are some new ideas that should be debated in our Party ranks because they represent certain areas of thinking among our members. We all agree that the level of Negro-white unity must be raised even higher. The Party rejects all theories that lead to violence in go-it-alone theories; we reject the ideology of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM); we reject the jump-about gorilla warfare as expounded.

by ROBERT WILLIAMS, and we reject the lines of the progressive labor group. This line is hopeless and leads nowhere. We are for the unity of Negro and white based on concrete struggle for equality of the Negro people. Our line says that we cannot win without the unity of Negro and white. We emphasize the self-interest of white America in the struggle for equality. It is good to report that there are many white youth organizations that are beginning to concern themselves with winning white youth for the struggle of the Negro people. [redacted] stated that there have developed certain ideological problems in their ranks that he will try to present. For lack of political characterization, [redacted] stated he would describe them as: 1) the "one big action theory" and 2) the "one big organization theory." There is also manifestations of this in discussing the civil rights movement. Some people feel that the struggle for the economic needs of the Negro people is the only path to mobilizing and radicalizing the Negro masses. We did not accept this theory but feel that although the issue of economics is correct, there must also be struggles around

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other aspects of Jim Crow oppression. The one organization theory seems to think that if we can come up with one big organization, we will be able to mobilize all of the youth into one big center and from there, win this struggle. The one big action theory says that if we can come up with the one big action that will mobilize all the youth such as the old time Socialists proposed when they came up with the general strike. They felt at that time that if they could just get all of the workers to agree to a general strike, it would break the back of capitalism and establish socialism. Both these theories negate the uneven development of both organizational and political understanding among the American youth. The Party's approach must be one of a united front around the issues facing the masses and developing struggles on all levels and with all organizations.

[redacted] ended his report by indicating that we must have the approach toward building and extending the base of the left and that unless we do that, we will not be able to win our objectives. The only concrete proposal, ZAGARELL indicated, was that we establish a campaign for

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recruiting into the Party large numbers of young people in the next immediate period.

The second report was given by [redacted] from New York and who formerly had been in Louisiana. Her report is as follows:

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The civil rights movement is still the dominant one in the United States today. The unity that was presented in the defeat of GOLDWATER represents an advance in the building of Negro-white unity. There are several examples of how this united front has built lasting organizations for struggle. The Party made contributions in this struggle. The Party warned of the danger of the ultra-right. The Party also emphasized the struggle for the alliance of the Negro people with labor and although other sections of the American left were split on how to approach the election, the Party had a consistent position. The Party, however, is still not reflecting in its membership the tremendous struggles of the Negro masses. The issues that are facing the Negro people fall into the category of both objective and subjective issues. The objective issue such as jobs and job discrimination is a basic question that decides the economic future of

the Negro people. This is an objective issue. Additional issues such as police brutality, discrimination in education, public places, etc., although important, are subjective issues. We must have an approach, however, to mobilize around all of these questions. The Party youth commission proposed the following program in the struggle to end discrimination in America:

On the campuses--an end to all forms of discrimination; housing, etc.--ending discrimination in fraternities and sororities, discrimination in regard to faculty hiring policies, text books and some form of scholarship for Negro and working class students; among the working class youth--the struggle for jobs and against job discrimination, a direction toward building unemployment workers groups among young workers and to try and influence the Du Bois Clubs for a consistent policy on the job and job discrimination questions; in the high schools--quality education and improvement of the racial composition, and secondly, a struggle for democracy in the text books. In the south, the struggle for federal intervention to guarantee the rights of the Negro

people, support to the right to vote movement in the south with the particular emphasis on support to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The status of the Party in the civil rights movement is still inadequate. The struggle for civil rights has been the main area of work by our Party, but we are still lagging in many respects. One point of emphasis is the involvement of white youth in the struggle. We must overcome the inconsistency of our work where our members float from organization to organization. We must answer the question as to why we have not won large numbers of Negro youth to our party. One possibility is the lack of a public image of the Party in the Negro community and that the Negro people do not know the program and the struggles of the Party and their Negro youth have no way of finding out our program. We must take concrete steps to overcome this weakness. Secondly, we spread our Negro cadre too thin and we must allow them to concentrate on building in the Negro community. There is a problem still in our Party--white supremacy--which needs continuing struggle. We should build the unity of Negro-white in our organization so as to set an

example for the rest of the civil rights movement. We must change our attitude toward certain of the less active Negro civil rights organizations such as the NAACP youth council. We must determine where our Negro members work so that they may develop a balanced approach to building a base among Negro youth as well as participate in interracial policy organization. We must find the forms to build left movements in the Negro youth community and there is a need to have a different approach to the Negro youth organization.

There must be proposals that we set a goal for the number of Negro youth to be recruited--perhaps a conference of the youth to deal with the problems of the Negro youth movement that this summer we try and make arrangements for our cadre who are students to work for the National Office in some organizing capacity or that some comrades be encouraged to go south in the Mississippi project. That was the essence of her remarks.

In the discussion that followed, only the essence of the discussion will be given because it was impossible to keep up with all of the cross discussion.

The first one to open was [] from Northern California. [] took a very critical approach to both reports indicating that when [] spoke of the coalition, he did not indicate how deep the sentiment was for continuing activity around the mandate. We did not consolidate the coalitions that were formed during the election. In northern California, there was a great deal of activity in regard to the elections. However, something about the report is unreal because it seems to indicate that all of the participants in the struggle against GOLDWATER are still organized for continuation of progressive ideas.

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[] from Wisconsin spoke. [] in the main, agreed with the estimates put forth in the report. However, [] indicated that in Wisconsin, there was a great deal of disagreement as to what position should be taken on the GOLDWATER-JOHNSON election. There was heated debate in the Party club, however, which did not deteriorate into factional strife. All disagreements were handled in a comradely fashion and as a result, [] indicated the club is stronger.

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BARBARA from Boston expressed her agreement with the reports indicating that the activities around Boston are sparse but that they, in the main, agree with what was put forth.

TOM from Los Angeles spoke. His main attack against the report was the lack of explanation as to what was meant by unity. In his opinion, unity without a program is useless. This young man has also worked for SNCC in Mississippi. TOM indicated that too often the young communists wait for the Party line in given situations rather than using their own brains and initiative in developing activities around specific situations.

HAL from New York representing the lower east side Party group spoke. HAL indicated that more discussion must be made on policy and that what we are trying to get at is a policy for youth work.

GENE from Connecticut spoke. GENE indicated that the organizational forms for youth activity are varied and we should not try to place a rigid blueprint on them. A great deal can be said for ad hoc committees which will meet specific struggles in some instances.

RASHEED from Harlem, New York, spoke. The essence was, speaking of the trend among the people since the election, there has been toward more unity against the problems of the people.

PAUL from Los Angeles, California, spoke. PAUL was critical of the report in failing to give ideological leadership and felt that it should have dealt more with these problems.

There were one or two other speakers. from New York stressed the necessity for not taking things too literally from what people have been saying, but rather to understand that they are fighting for a general direction. In his opinion, both reports are only giving a direction. It is not expected that each Party club will carry out each individual proposal in the same fashion. In his opinion, there are no contradictions between the reports and the discussions that cannot be reconciled. He does feel, however, that there seem to be some differences in estimates as to the elections. For instance, the Du Bois Clubs took a position that appeared to be neutral in regards to the GOLDWATER-JOHNSON fight. This had serious repercussions throughout the Du Bois

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Clubs movement. These differences seem to indicate a lack of clarity on the character of the Du Bois Clubs.

[redacted] from Detroit indicated that she is sometimes at a loss as to what is going on at these meetings. She continued that in Detroit, there is very limited youth activity. They are trying to form a club and develop their program. [redacted] is also the regional coordinator for the Du Bois Clubs, but she indicated she would speak more about that subject under that topic on the agenda.

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DONALD from Oregon also participated.

They broke for supper and agreed that they would try and continue after supper.

After supper, they continued the discussion of the two reports and this reporter consulted with GIL GREEN. GREEN criticized the discussion that evening as extremely poor, his feeling being that the entire meeting so far had suffered from a lack of concreteness and a lack of concentrated approaches to the various problems facing the youth. Therefore, the discussion of Saturday evening was a hopeless mass of abstractions.

The Sunday morning session had opened with a report by [] the topic being the Du Bois Clubs and the Party's responsibilities and relationship. This session was chaired by []

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[] indicated that there had been phenomenal growth since the convention in San Francisco, California, of the Du Bois Clubs. In all areas where there has been a concentrated effort, we have seen tremendous possibilities. However, the national leadership is plagued with very serious problems. The formation of the Du Bois Clubs indicate that it was correct to fight for a socialist youth organization at this time. There has been a void in the youth movement that needs to be filled. The Du Bois Clubs with its short history has made contributions to various struggles of the young people. Most of the literature that has gotten out has been sold almost immediately. Correspondence comes to the National Office from areas of the country where there are no Du Bois Clubs members. This was particularly true after the attack against the Du Bois Clubs by J. EDGAR HOOVER and some newspapers. The statistics will show that there are many areas that have shown a positive

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direction. There are approximately 600 members and 30 Du Bois Clubs nationally. The breakdown is as follows:

There are 4 clubs in Southern California;

There are 4 Clubs in the Southwest;

There is 1 Club in Texas;

There is the formation of a Club at the University of Texas;

There is a Club in Madison, Wisconsin, which is perhaps the Club that has the highest level of political and ideological activity;

There is a Club at the University of Minnesota;

There are 2 Clubs in the Chicago area;

Detroit has only an embryo of a Club;

In New York City, there are 9 Du Bois Clubs;

There are 3 Clubs in Northern California;

There is 1 Club in Iowa at Grinnel College;

The situation in Pennsylvania is unclear;

The situation in New England is unclear although there are members in these two states;

There is 1 Club in Antioch;

In the South, there is the possibility of building a Club in Atlanta, and there is also the possibility of initiating a Southern organizing drive.

The first one to discuss this report was [redacted] [redacted] from Portland. [redacted] indicated there were two Du Bois Clubs in his area, one of which is a working class club. The activities have been limited although they were extremely active in the election campaign.

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[redacted] from Madison stated the Madison Club has a very high level of activity. I would like to make a few suggestions in extending its influence in the Midwest. [redacted] indicated that in his opinion, we should begin to work somewhat like SNCC by sending organizers into various cities and developing a consistent approach in some of the underdeveloped areas in the Midwest.

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HAL from New York indicated they were trying to develop the organization on a state-wide basis. At present, there are only Du Bois Clubs in New York City and nothing up-state, and they too were discussing sending people up-state to renew contacts.

[redacted] indicated his disappointment with certain political questions in relationship to the Du Bois Clubs which had not been discussed. He felt that the

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discussion has to answer some of the many problems, both financial and political, for the Club. There needs to be an assessment of the Student Democratic Society (SDS). In many areas, this organization parallels the program of the Du Bois Clubs and it has been difficult working out a relationship with to them.

[redacted] spoke from Detroit and made a few general comments.

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[redacted] from Madison proposed a theoretical organ from the Du Bois Clubs. There was no discussion of it.

JOHN from Seattle indicated they do not have a Club as yet in Seattle.

BARBARA from Boston indicated there was tremendous conflict between the SDS and the Du Bois Clubs. The SDS claims not to be a socialist organization but many of its leaders are socialist and the Party should develop a policy in regard to this organization.

STEVE from New York indicated the SDS is not active on New York campuses, but the Du Bois Clubs are.

TOM from Minnesota stated at the University of Minnesota, they started from nothing and now there is a Du Bois Club at the University.

[redacted] from New York indicated New York has four campus clubs, four community clubs and one high school

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club. They recently held a conference of the clubs, set up a city-wide leadership body, a college council and a community council.

GENE from Connecticut spoke and indicated they have one state-wide Du Bois Club.

PAUL from Los Angeles emphasized the necessity for leadership and consistency in building Du Bois Clubs.

GIL GREEN was introduced and GREEN said a few words of encouragement, emphasized the importance of building a youth movement, did not enter into any controversial questions that had been discussed, but emphasized the responsibility of the Party to make assessments and to develop a program and policy.

At the close of everyone discussing, there was a ten-minute evaluation where people were asked to give their opinions of the meeting. The first three people who spoke gave negative estimates of the meeting. One young fellow from Connecticut thought the fact that the meeting took place was positive. The criticisms dealt with the method of arranging the meeting, the lack of communication between

the national Party youth leadership and the district, and the weaknesses in emphasis on direction of the Party youth. Most of the criticism was accepted by [redacted] of New York and indicated he would try to do better.

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**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1964**

The following figures are set out according to states and territory, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES AND TERRITORIES

Alabama	2	Maine	0	Pennsylvania	114
Alaska	0	Maryland	37	Rhode Island	8
Arizona	19	Massachusetts	92	South Carolina	0
Arkansas	1	Michigan	180	South Dakota	5
California	881	Minnesota	157	Tennessee	0
Colorado	5	Mississippi	0	Texas	17
Connecticut	34	Missouri	41	Utah	15
Delaware	1	Montana	18	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	6	Nebraska	2	Virginia	5
Florida	24	Nevada	0	Washington	192
Georgia	4	New Hampshire	2	West Virginia	9
Hawaii	0	New Jersey	64	Wisconsin	102
Idaho	5	New Mexico	5	Wyoming	0
Illinois	334	New York	1,414		
Indiana	38	N. Carolina	2	<u>Total</u>	4,085
Iowa	2	N. Dakota	22		
Kansas	4	Ohio	153	<u>Territory</u>	
Kentucky	0	Oklahoma	9	Puerto Rico	12
Louisiana	6	Oregon	52		

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	11	Indianapolis	38	Oklahoma City	9
Albuquerque	5	Jackson	0	Omaha	4
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	0	Philadelphia	99
Atlanta	3	Kansas City	6	Phoenix	19
Baltimore	38	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	24
Birmingham	1	Las Vegas	0	Portland	52
Boston	102	Little Rock	1	Richmond	4
Buffalo	20	Los Angeles	599	St. Louis	39
Butte	23	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	15
Charlotte	2	Memphis	0	San Antonio	5
Chicago	334	Miami	22	San Diego	23
Cincinnati	9	Milwaukee	102	San Francisco	259
Cleveland	144	Minneapolis	184	Savannah	1
Dallas	7	Mobile	1	Seattle	192
Denver	5	Newark	64	Springfield	0
Detroit	180	New Haven	34	Tampa	2
El Paso	2	New Orleans	6	Washington Field	6
Honolulu	0	New York	1,385	<u>Total</u>	4,085
Houston	3	Norfolk	1	SEARCHED	INDEXED
				SERIALIZED	FILED

San Juan JAN 2 0 1965 12

FBI - NEW YORK

<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	34	Connecticut	34
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District	100	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	99 1
Illinois District	334	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only)	334 0
Indiana District	38	Indiana	38
Maryland-D. C. District (Listed Under Southern Region)			
Michigan District	180	Michigan	180
Minnesota-Dakota District	184	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	157 22 5
Missouri District	43	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	41 2 0
Montana District	18	Montana	18
New England District	104	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 0 2 92 8
New Jersey District	64	New Jersey	64
New York District	1,414	New York	1,414
Northern California District	267	California (North of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	267
Northwest District	197	Washington Idaho Alaska	192 5 0
Ohio District	156	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Section)	153 3

DISTRICTS - (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	10	Oklahoma	9
		Arkansas	1
Oregon District	52	Oregon	52
Southern California District	614	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Kern Counties)	614
Southern Region	101	Alabama	2
		Florida	24
		Georgia	4
		Kentucky	0
		Louisiana	6
		Mississippi	0
		South Carolina	0
		Tennessee	0
		Texas (Excluding 17 western counties)	15
		(Proposed but unconfirmed new enlarged Maryland- D. C. District)	
		Maryland, District of Columbia Virginia & North Carolina District	
		Maryland	37
		District of Columbia	6
		Virginia	5
		North Carolina	2
Utah District	15	Utah	15
Western Pennsylvania District	15	Pennsylvania (Western)	15
Wisconsin District	102	Wisconsin	102
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	43	Arizona	19
		Colorado	5
		Hawaii	0
		Iowa	2
		Kansas	2
		Nebraska	2
		Nevada	0
		New Mexico	5
		Texas (17 western counties)	2
		West Virginia (Exclusive of the four panhandle counties)	6
		Wyoming	0
<u>Total</u>	4,085	<u>Total</u>	4,085
TERRITORIAL POSSESSION	12	Puerto Rico	12

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>3/31/64</u>	<u>6/30/64</u>	<u>9/30/64</u>	<u>12/31/64</u>
Albany	11	11	12	11
Albuquerque	5	5	5	5
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	4	3	3	3
Baltimore	40	40	40	38
Birmingham	1	1	1	1
Boston	103	104	102	102
Buffalo	21	21	20	20
Butte	24	24	24	23
Charlotte	3	3	3	2
Chicago	339	335	331	334
Cincinnati	9	9	9	9
Cleveland	144	144	144	144
Dallas	7	7	7	7
Denver	5	5	5	5
Detroit	180	180	180	180
El Paso	2	2	2	2
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	3	3	3	3
Indianapolis	40	38	38	38
Jackson	--	--	0	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	7	6	6	6
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	1	1	1	1
Los Angeles	614	620	616	599
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	7	21	21	22
Milwaukee	102	102	102	102
Minneapolis	176	180	178	184
Mobile	1	1	1	1
Newark	74	74	67	64
New Haven	34	34	34	34
New Orleans	6	6	6	6
New York	1,348	1,407	1,401	1,385
Norfolk	1	1	1	1
Oklahoma City	9	9	9	9
Omaha	6	6	6	4
Philadelphia	104	105	103	99
Phoenix	19	19	19	19
Pittsburgh	25	25	24	24
Portland	62	61	62	52
Richmond	7	6	4	4
St. Louis	39	39	39	39
Salt Lake City	15	15	15	15
San Antonio	6	6	6	5

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (Con't)

	<u>3/31/64</u>	<u>6/30/64</u>	<u>9/30/64</u>	<u>12/31/64</u>
San Diego	32	31	31	23
San Francisco	285	284	264	259
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	205	202	195	192
Springfield	0	0	0	0
Tampa	0	0	0	2
Washington Field	7	7	6	6

<u>TOTALS</u>	4,134	4,204	4,147	4,085
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San Juan	12	12	12	12
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TO: SAC,

- Albany
- Albuquerque
- Anchorage
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Birmingham
- Boston
- Buffalo
- Butte
- Charlotte
- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Cleveland
- Dallas
- Denver
- Detroit
- El Paso
- Honolulu

- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jacksonville
- Kansas City
- Knoxville
- Las Vegas
- Little Rock
- Los Angeles
- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
- New Haven
- New Orleans
- New York City

- Norfolk
- Oklahoma City
- Omaha
- Philadelphia
- Phoenix
- Pittsburgh
- Portland
- Richmond
- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- San Juan
- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield
- Tampa

- Washington Field
- Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- Bern
- Bonn
- London
- Manila
- Mexico, D.F.
- Ottawa
- Paris
- Rome
- Rio de Janeiro
- Tokyo

Date 1/19/65

RE: **COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

For information Retention optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

100-80638-2145

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
JAN 20 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

Enc. 1
Bufile 100-3-68
Urfile

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 2/4/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO: NY)

NY ⁷³⁶²2632-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 1/26/65, that a meeting of leading functionaries of the CP, USA, was held at CP Headquarters, NYC, on above date. Among those in attendance were the following: WILLIAM TAYLOR, GUS HALL, ARNOLD JOHNSON, HENRY WINSTON, HELEN WINTER, HYMAN LUMER, ROBERT THOMPSON, and PHIL BART.

- 4 - Chicago (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
 - (1 - 100-)
- 1 - Cincinnati (INFO) (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (INFO) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-CP, USA - YOUTH MATTER)
- 2 - Detroit (INFO) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (HELEN WINTER)
- 3 - Los Angeles (INFO) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (WILLIAM TAYLOR)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 2 - San Francisco (INFO) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 3 - Seattle (INFO) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (BURT NELSON)
 - (1 - 100-) (MRS. BURT NELSON)
- 1 - New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-80644) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-69956) (HELEN WINTER) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER)
- 1 - New York (100- 27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100- 56579) (PHIL BART) (42)
- ① - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)

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HCO:cjs
(27)

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB 5 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>Waters</i>	

NY 100-80641

The informant advised that the meeting opened with WILLIAM TAYLOR making several broad statements concerning his recent travels abroad. He contrasted the housing conditions in Moscow and Siberia, noting that in Moscow the housing condition has eased somewhat. He spoke briefly concerning the Jewish question in the Soviet Union, commenting that the whole question of assimilation is taking place and the Soviet people are certain of its solution.

Continuing, TAYLOR stated that Czechoslovakia is becoming more of an industrial area rather than an agricultural one and it was his opinion that in this area of industrial growth, better economic conditions exist. TAYLOR stated that the new Socialist man, the new Soviet person, has all the political and theoretical understandings of the world around him, the danger of war and the like. TAYLOR said, however, that he (the new Socialist man) does not feel or fully understand the many conflicts and contradictions. TAYLOR remarked that in his travels he made many speeches trying to explain the high cost of living, the living in indebtedness (apparently referring to the United States). TAYLOR noted that in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 70 thousand people have put away money in their banks in order to buy cars but that cars are not available for purchase.

TAYLOR also commented briefly on the woman question saying that they are advancing only in certain professions and there is a lack of leadership in the top bodies of the Party. He noted that women have many positions in the lower echelons and in business.

TAYLOR commented that JIM WEST was told to take a rest and that although he looks better there is a chance of a respiratory (tumor) and possibly could undergo an operation. He said that PAT (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) was resting and it was suggested he stay a few months (apparently in the Soviet Union) and start writing his biography. TAYLOR added that PAT has been active in explaining the fight against the Mc Carran Act to all the other delegations.

NY 100-80641

According to TAYLOR the NELSONS (BERT NELSON and wife) are in the hospital. He described Mrs. NELSON's illness as something to do with her spine and that BERT (NELSON) is still being examined. He said that BERT apparently must have had some head injury at one time.

Continuing, TAYLOR stated that in Prague they have designated February to be Mc Carran Act month. He said that they translated the entire act in the Czech language and by means of radio, television, and unions, intend to bring the act to the attention of the people. He said they need more material on the Mc Carran Act. TAYLOR also remarked that he had talked to JOHNNY (WILLIAMSON) in England and he indicated he would do all he could about the Mc Carran Act. It is noted that TAYLOR stated that he spent a whole week in Czechoslovakia on the Mc Carran Act.

(The information concerning TAYLOR's remarks about the Mc Carran Act and his activity in Czechoslovakia has been previously reported to the Bureau by airtel and attached LHM dated 1/28/65, captioned "CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IS - C").

Following TAYLOR's remarks HELEN WINTER stated that since women are not in a high position on the Central Committee or the Presiding Committee shows a lot of backwardness. HELEN WINTER then reported on a tour she made of six or seven districts of the CP, USA. A picture of the organizational structure of the apparatus on the West Coast, Chicago, Michigan, and Cleveland was obtained. She indicated that these districts were examined concerning finances and record keeping methods.

According to WINTER, in the past 15 years there has been a picking away at all areas because of the legal situation, faulty approach to personnel and a refusal to understand the validity of the system. She said the best systems are in the Northwest and Southern California districts, the Northwest representing the working class and Southern California the middle class. She said that

NY 100-80641

all districts except Ohio on a club level are making a conscientious effort of struggle and the degree of struggle depends on the leadership available.

Regarding literature, WINTER said there is no system in all the areas. In some clubs the people do not see literature. This is uniform regardless of the degree of organization.

Regarding leadership, she commented that there has been a loss of leadership and guidance to the lower echelon. This was evident in the election campaign. The leadership was lacking in guidance. There was no leadership between the individual's work and his party association.

Regarding youth clubs, Ohio has none. In California there are youth clubs that work by themselves and have no relationship with the rest of the organization. In Southern California there is a high level of work which should be the example for the entire country. To keep youth free, they assign older comrades to youth groups to take care of details. There is no system of cadre training or training of any kind except in a limited way where a few conscientious people take a few people under their wing and work with them in a very systematic manner. She said that only when a strong district leader or a national leader pressured a district was something done regarding training.

According to WINTER, northern California has a very interesting program which they call contact classes. She described these as national seminars about the party for the purpose of recruiting. They are more or less public but are not advertised. This is done in a certain community or institution or general organizational area or university. There are three, four, or five people in contact with several other people. They still invite others to come and hear a party representative speak on a certain subject.

NY 100-80641

After that contact they are asked if they would like to come again and if so what would they like to discuss. They attempt to develop in a very informal and flexible fashion, a continuation of this from which they intend and have a perspective of bringing into the organization certain people. It is done by invitation. The idea is a good one and they have had some degree of results. What happens after that is that they come into the party and their education depends on the club. If the club is not able to give anything, the new person may not stay and that is the problem.

Continuing WINTER stated that over all among youth there has been some recruiting in the last year. From observation and from what people have related, recruiting is highest in the two California districts, lesser in the other districts and practically nothing in one or two places which were visited.

ROBERT THOMPSON asked if it was WINTER's impression that the party has at last stemmed or stopped a downward trend as far as the size of the party is concerned. WINTER replied that this was her impression.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41296)

DATE: 2-9-65

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CHICAGO YOUTH CLUB
CP OF ILLINOIS
IS - C

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Informant [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past

Activity Meeting of Executive Committee; Chicago Youth Club, CP of Illinois

Date of Activity 1/23/65

Date of Report 1/23/65

Date Received 1/26/65

Recommendation None *Ref to B. Re Recommendations & Adv Close sent*

Location [redacted]

- 9 - New York (RM)
 - 1 - 100-2398 Organization
 - 1 - 100- Youth Matters
 - 1 - 100- CIRM
 - 1 - 100- Domestic Administrative Issues
 - ① - 100- Membership
 - 1 - 100- Pamphlets & Publications
 - 1 - 100- Education
 - 1 - 100- Brief
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]

- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
 - 1 - 100-51200 W.E.B. DuBois Club

- 21- Chicago
 - [redacted]
 - 1 - 100-18957 CP of Ill.-Youth Matters
 - 1 - 100-18952 CP of Ill.-Membership
 - 1 - 100-41324 CP of Ill.-CIRM
 - 1 - 100-40865 W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of Chicago
 - 1 - 100-19491 CP of Ill.-Domestic Administrative Issues

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 9 1965	
FBI - CHICAGO	

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100-40638-2146

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	
WATERS, J.	

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(31)

CG 100-41296

- 1 - 100-18209 CP of Ill.-Pamphlets & Pubs.
- 1 - 100-18338 CP of Ill.-Education
- 1 - 100-40238 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-38225 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-18953 CP of Ill.-Organization
- 1 - 100-38624 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-40116 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-36677 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-40612 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-12890 EARL DURHAM
- 1 - 100-35120 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-41545 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-39546 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-36467 [REDACTED]

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January 23, 1965
Chicago, Illinois

On January 23, 1965, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Chicago Youth Club of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois took place at the residence of [redacted]. The meeting was held from 12:00 midnight to 5:00 AM. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss with [redacted] some of the problems of the CP youth in the Chicago area and to hear from him a report of the prospectus of the Party nationally for youth work. The following persons were present:

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Although until this time [redacted] has been considered a member of the Chicago Youth Club Executive Committee, he was not invited to the meeting under discussion. It was learned from [redacted] that he and [redacted] met with EARL DURHAM on the evening of January 21st. It was determined at this meeting that DURHAM should discuss with [redacted] and [redacted] the difficulties which [redacted] has been encountering in his Party work. Durham was opposed to [redacted] attending the meeting because his attendance might inhibit [redacted] from fully speaking his mind. During the discussion of January 23rd, a date was set for a meeting of the Chicago Youth Club (February 3rd at the home of [redacted]) instructed [redacted] that she was not to mention the meeting to [redacted] when contacting other Party members to tell them to attend. [redacted] wants to discuss at the next meeting of the Executive Committee (January 26th) whether or not it is advisable to retain DON as a Party member. The thoughts of the respective members of the Executive and DURHAM's advice will apparently settle the question.

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During the evening, [redacted] stated that [redacted] and [redacted] have been asked to join the Chicago Youth Club of the CP of Illinois. They both accepted and are to be invited to a February 3rd meeting. [redacted] stated that although [redacted] had not been associated for any length of time with the present members of the club, he is not new to left circles and was extremely anxious to join the Party. It was learned also that during the evening, [redacted] will leave Chicago the evening of

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January 24th and will return and be in the city February 2nd and 3rd. It is not known where he will spend the intervening days. He indicated, however, that he would be in and out of Chicago for some period of time.

[redacted] read a mimeographed summary of the resolutions of a recently held national meeting of CP youth. The summary was written by [redacted] and dated January, 1965. It indicated that the meeting had discussed how to attract youth to the CP, particularly Negro youth, and the relationship of CP youth to the new national socialist youth organization. Although this organization was not mentioned by name, it was understood by those present to be the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. The resolutions concerning issues and demands to be concentrated upon by CP youth concerning varying classes of young people are as follows:

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High School youth

1. Demand the end of overt and de facto segregation in all high schools of the country.
2. Demand the inclusion of Negro history and accomplishments in high school textbooks and demand the ouster of books and materials which implicitly or explicitly condone segregation.
3. Demand the establishment of programs which will insure the payment of stipends to children who otherwise would not be able to finish their high school work.

College youth

All three of the above demands as applicable to college students.

Working youth

1. Demand the end of overt and de facto segregation in hiring practices of all employers.
2. Demand an end to segregation in apprenticeship programs.

3. Demand the establishment of programs to provide unemployment insurance to first time job seekers.

The summary of the national CP meeting went on to indicate that the CP is launching a recruitment drive February 1st or April 1st through July and that the drive will give emphasis to the recruitment of Negro youth. A paper addressing itself to this problem will soon be issued from the national CP headquarters. Papers addressing themselves to the above demands for high school, college, and working youth will also soon be issued from the national CP headquarters.

The summary further indicated that the CP will hold cadre classes in New York during the summer of 1965, similar to those held the summer of 1964. Chicago was not represented during the 1964 session. The CP is asking each District in the country to send one CP youth to New York for the summer. The CP will also ask certain youth comrades to spend the summer in the South working with civil rights organizations. Lastly, some of those participating in the cadre class will be sent to certain organizationally weak areas in the country to organize same. This will be subsequent to an intensive Marxist-Leninist orientation in New York.

The discussion of the Chicago Executive Committee centered around how to build the Party and particularly Negro participation in Chicago. It was generally agreed that this could be done most effectively by building W.E.B. DuBois organization on the borderline of Negro-white communities. It was agreed further that this organization should be centered in a four or five block area, that it should concentrate on problems of the area (inadequate garbage pick-up, broken street lights, etc) and that it should, of course, have integrated membership. The exact area that Chicago will concentrate upon has not been decided but it has been narrowed to the area around Cicero and Jackson or the borderline of the white community in which [redacted] lives. It is preferred that some CP youth move within the five block area of concentration. It was further decided that, should the borderline of the community in which [redacted] lives be chosen for concentration, a new DuBois Club will be established in addition to [redacted] organization and her Executive will probably not play a leading role in the new club initially. These problems will be further explored at the January 26th meeting of the Chicago CP youth Executive Committee and at the February 3rd meeting of the entire CP Youth Club.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-71)(100-3-68) DATE: 2-9-65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33739)(100-33740)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
EDUCATION
IS - C

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

On January 26, 1965, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Chicago Youth Club of the Communist Party of Illinois (CP) was held in Chicago, Illinois, on January 23, 1965, for the purpose of discussing with [redacted] National CP Youth Director, some of the problems facing CP youth in the Chicago area and to hear from him a report of the prospectus of the Party nationally for youth work.

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[redacted] further advised that [redacted] read a mimeographed summary of the resolutions of a recently held national meeting of CP youth (held in Chicago during December, 1964) and it was stated by [redacted] that the CP is launching a recruitment drive on February 1 or April 1 through July, 1965, and that this drive will give emphasis to the recruitment of

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- 5 - Bureau (RM)
1-100-439835 [redacted]
- 3 - New York (Info) (RM)
1-100-80633 (CP, EDUCATION)
1-100-80638 (CP, MEMBERSHIP)
1-100-141914 [redacted]
- 6 - Chicago
[redacted]
1-100-38225 [redacted]
1-100-18338 (CP, ILL. DISTRICT, EDUCATION)
1-100-18952 (CP, ILL. DISTRICT, MEMBERSHIP)

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Waters

100-80638-2191

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 11 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

WATERS, J. G. H.

ELS:mec
(14)

JM

CG 100-33739
CG 100-33740

Negro youth. He stated that a paper addressing itself to this problem will soon be issued from the national CP headquarters.

Source further advised that [] also indicated that the CP will hold cadre classes in New York during the summer of 1965 similar to those held during the summer of 1964. According to [] the CP will ask each district in the country to send one CP youth to New York for the summer. [] added that some of those participating in these cadre classes will be sent to certain organizationally weak areas in the country to organize same. However, this will be subsequent to an intensive Marxist-Leninist orientation in New York.

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[] further indicated that the CP will also ask certain youth comrades to spend the summer in the South working with civil rights organizations. However, [] did not furnish any additional information with respect to these proposed plans.

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The Chicago Office is furnishing the above information to the Bureau because it is felt that the Bureau may desire to alert all field offices with respect to the plans of the CP during the coming months, looking towards the possibility of informant development and coverage of the cadre classes scheduled to be held in New York during the summer of 1965.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2/10/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO: NY)

On 1/24/65, NY 2359-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on above date that a meeting of leading functionaries, CPUSA, was held at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC. Among those in attendance were:

PHIL BART
HENRY WINSTON
ARNOLD JOHNSON
HELEN WINTER
BETTY GANNETT
JACK STACHEL
WILL WEINSTONE

BILL TAYLOR

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- 2- Bureau (RM)
- 1- Baltimore (INFO) (RM)
- 1- Chicago (INFO) (RM)
- 1- Cincinnati (INFO) (RM)
- 2- Cleveland (INFO) (RM)
 - 1- (100-CIRM)
- 5- Detroit (INFO) (RM)
 - 1- (100-) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS)
 - 1- (100-) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
 - 1- (100-) (COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATION)
 - 1- (100-) (HELEN WINTER)

HCO:vtc
(39)

(COPIES CONT'D)

JMC

100-80638-2148

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 12 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Winters

NY 100-80641

COPIES CONT'D:

- 2- Los Angeles (INFO) (RM)
- 1- (100-) (BILL TAYLOR)
- 1- Newark (INFO) (RM)
- 1- Philadelphia (INFO) (RM)
- 1- Pittsburgh (INFO) (RM)
- 1- San Francisco (INFO) (RM)
- 21- New York
 - 1- (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
 - 1- (100-97167) ("POLITICAL AFFAIRS")
 - 1- (100-80638) (CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP)
 - 1- (100-128817) (CPUSA -NYD- MEMBERSHIP)
 - 1- (100-80644) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS)
 - 1- (100-133902) (COMINFIL MASS ORGANIZATION)
 - 1- (100-132430) (CPUSA - NYD- INDUSTRIAL REGION)
 - 1- (100-153735) (CIRM)
 - 1- (100-57557) (INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS)
 - 1- (100-89590) (CPUSA - STRATEGY-IN-INDUSTRY)
 - 1- (100-80633) (CPUSA - EDUCATION)
 - 1- (100-125578) [REDACTED]
 - 1- (100-56579) (BART)
 - 1- (100-269) (WINSTON)
 - 1- (100-16021) (JOHNSON)
 - 1- (100-69956) (HELEN WINTER)
 - 1- (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT)
 - 1- (100-18065) (STACHEL)
 - 1- (100-9595) (WEINSTONE)
 - 1- (100-117708) [REDACTED]

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NY 100-80641

[redacted] opened the meeting by stating the discussion to take place and his report would be in preparation for a major discussion to be had at the next National Board Meeting. [redacted] noted that various districts have not reported on their studies and this information will have to await further discussion.

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It is to be noted that [redacted] gave an informational report on the status of the Party which is similar to a report he had previously given on 1/20/65, which was disseminated to the Bureau by airtel and attached a letterhead memo dated 1/21/65 .

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According to the informant, [redacted] then gave his informational report wherein he stated that "The Worker" and "Political Affairs" have been barely holding their own, despite the fact that they have increased their circulation to some degree. He said as to membership of the Party, "We" have had some gain among youth but these have largely been offset by debts and so on. He said there has been very big steps forward in the Party as regards the development of policy and, further, there has been a growth in the mass activity of the Party and mass influence of the Party with mass organizations. He stated however, that the Party organizational status has not kept pace with its other gains. He said there was a "gap" as regards party press, publications, membership and organization of the Party. He noted that one of the problems is how to build shop clubs and industrial clubs in the face of the continuing problem of legality. He said there is also the problem of building the Party in Negro communities, especially "when our Party base in so many crucial Negro communities is so small to begin with".

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NY 100-80641

Continuing, [] remarked that many comrades felt that to take part actively in building the press will endanger the Party in mass relationships. Some of these individuals felt that the press is not a useful enough instrument in carrying out their mass tasks. [] noted that the mass movement has been developing rapidly but legal prosecution of the Party continues, and the question of legality in terms of mass acceptance of the Party in the mass movement lags behind.

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[] next discussed the question of subjective weaknesses in the Party. One, he said, is failing to appreciate what is taking place in the mass movement, the impact of this movement. He indicated that there was "an under estimation" wherein the Party did not take full advantage of the possibilities that exist. He classified another subjective weakness as their system of approach, that is, whether the Party today is capable of contributing to mass struggles and mass developments in the sense of being able to build. He noted that these weaknesses lead to an approach within the Party of separating mass plans from Party plans. He said that to the extent that the Party works in strengthening the organization reflects on the strength of their voice and influence in the mass movement.

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Continuing, [] remarked that the fight for legalization of the Party is crucial to build the Party and closing the gap between the mass movement and the Party status. The question of legality basically depends on whether the Party appears to the growing masses as a militant and responsible fighter for the best interests of the people of our country.

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NY 100-80641

[] commented that in his opinion, the Party was not doing everything possible in its fight for legality. He noted that in the past period, they had been speaking before large audiences and in that way, made a very successful contribution. He noted also that the Party, during the last election campaign, distributed in the neighborhood of 600,000 pieces of mail and in this manner, a number of positive steps bearing on the question of legalization of the Party was made. He noted, however, that there was a sharp problem in presenting the Party as one involved in struggles and doing something. One big reason for this is that much of the Party's work in the mass movement and mass organizations is not known and in the main, cannot be known widely. [] felt, however, that it is more unknown than it needs to be. He said that there are situations where many comrades work in mass movements, make big contributions, but yet, do not build a relationship. He said that the argument is sometimes put forth that "our role" as Communists is to further the development of these mass movements and help them move forward but that we have no role in building the Party. He said that this was an example of a tendency to wrongfully separate the two when it need not be so. He felt there was a need to find forms in which the Party can be seen much more readily as being active in the struggles of the issues of the day.

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Continuing, [] felt that there was also a need to find ways to greatly increase what might be called the dialogue with the rest of the left, especially the new left, those in mass struggles who are moving to the left and are searching for alternatives to the social system. [] felt the affair by International Publishers (1/15/65), despite some weaknesses, was a big step forward in terms of opening of dialogue and relationships. He said this is a major feat for the legality of the Party, of its acceptance in the mass movement. [] felt that it was hard to fight for legality without a fight for candidates and for ballot status of the Party itself. [] felt that this question of candidates needs a lot of study and examination but that it moves in the direction of the Party, together with significant non-Party forces towards perhaps a general left electoral coalition.

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NY 100-80641

[] also stated that there was the problem of re-establishing the practice of a concentration policy. He noted that the building of the shop and industrial clubs was a crucial part of Party work. He said there are districts that not only do not have any shop or industrial clubs, but do not have any prospect of building one. On the question of concentration, they have singled out certain districts such as Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. [] felt that there was a need to single out main industries as was done in the past. [] felt that he was not qualified to make any comments on this particular phase but thought that the industries would include steel and auto.

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[] felt that there was a need to look into the direction of building relationships with groups of advanced workers. He indicated that he was thinking of something on the order of "an institute for advanced study of trade union movements and problems". [] next spoke of the need to build the Party Negro communities. He noted that in some Negro communities, they have not yet found the forces with which to begin to build. He said you come up against the central problem which pertains to every area of work and that is the question of cadre training as well as the general problem of cadre. He said there are some plans offered to make a "deat" and help solve the relation to Negro youth. He said as regards growth in the Negro community, they need to do a lot more in terms of analysis of the movement and the issues.

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Continuing, [] remarked that the left youth organization and the building of it in the neighborhood could play a big role in this question of legality. He said that especially among youth, there is the possibility of moving masses in that direction and participating with us in these left forms. He said a primary question used with relation to youth is one of cadre. He said that when you examine concretely, district by district, you come to the conclusion that there are a number of districts where there is no significant youth work. We, therefore, come back to the need for organized cadre training programs. He indicated

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NY 100-80641

there was a need on a national level to assign a comrade to a specific area of responsibility. He said there is further the question of confidence in youth in order to build a relationship. He indicated that there were areas in youth work where the adults are too restrictive, there is no room for the youth to move around, which tends to undermine the situation.

[redacted] in concluding his comments, stated that the tendency is to separate mass tasks from Party work. This tendency narrows the basis for finding a solution to the work of the Party. He said the central idea is to establish a style of work which strives to bring the experience in these struggles into the Party as a whole. He said the Party must tackle its problems concretely from the standpoint of solving real life problems. He said that in this process of taking up the concrete questions, they should look for specific examples of the Party making artificial and unnecessary separation between activities in the mass struggle and so-called mass tasks of the Party. He said they should examine whether the underlying approach to separation is not really an underestimation of the readiness of the mass movement to respond to the Party, as well as an underestimation of the Party's readiness and ability to contribute to the mass movement. He said there needs to be an examination of forms which tend to unite Party and non-Party left workers for the purpose of influencing mass struggles. He concluded by saying such an examination is needed at all levels of the Party.

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NY 100-80641

Following [] report, a discussion period followed. WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that the party could not win the masses if they failed to show the face of the party. He felt that the party must find a coalition of left forces. He said a unity must be found. He said the party could not expect "our youth" to become involved in complicated strategical and tactical situations without giving them the benefit of a Marxist education. He felt that they needed to have a whole system of education which overcomes narrow practicalism and pragmatism.

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BETTY GANNETT commented that there was a whole number of important political and ideological problems in connection with legality. She said there was a lot to talk about in order to find how to unfold there struggle for legality. With regard to youth she felt the party could grow among youth provided they were able to find additional answers to these many problems. It was her impression that the party should organize itself more effectively and not run around "like chickens without heads."

BILL TAYLOR also expressed the opinion of the need for education especially among youth. He said that there are left organizations with which "we" can work, but the ones we can do some work with and who are doing very good work, especially in the field of civil rights, we are not doing anything. He said these are the groups that are influencing all kinds of people within the broad forces that "I think we are looking for."

[] expressed the opinion that there cannot be any minimizing of the absolute necessity for the party to defend itself and to launch a campaign to fight for this legality.

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HELEN WINTER said that in order to tackle some of these questions there ought to be an examination of the party club, its function and objectives. She noted that within the last several weeks she covered a whole number of districts including the West Coast, and as a result

NY 100-80641

came across a strange phenomenon adding "there are whole bodies of the organization that aren't in any clubs." She said that in one of the very important Midwestern states the great majority of the people in the largest city do not have any club meetings at all.

WINTER stated that in Michigan they have a system they call work shops. She described them as discussion sessions on issues or on particular kinds of activities. She said they are called work shops and people are invited. She said that people know that the ones who speak are activists or leaders of the party but no one makes a big point of it. As an example she said on the question of civil rights they have participating among 50 people at least half of which are non-Communist. She said these people will come to hear a spokesman if they are given a certain amount of security. The invitations are given out privately so that these people will feel free to come. WINTER also commented that in Detroit they have a committee around "The Worker" which is called the Worker Volunteers. She said the club numbers anywhere from 15 to 30 and there are three or four actual members, among them the rest are all non-party people. They are the ones who organize all the large affairs around "The Worker."

HENRY WINSTON stated that [redacted] gave a pretty comprehensive report. He said it is most important to discuss the tasks of the party. The primary task is to win influence in the labor movement, in the basic industries of the country. He said the party must root itself among working class Negroes and working class youth. He said "we" should concern ourselves with the fact that there is an increase of stagnation and decline of the party's influence and the party's organization in steel groups in Pittsburgh, Ohio, Gary, Chicago, and so on.

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WINSTON stated that the workers feel that the Communist Party has a right to exist but the class enemies say the party cannot exist. He said the party should

NY 100-80641

follow forms to overcome the resistance of the enemy.

WINSTON stated that on the question of the Negro movement people are turning to the Muslims in Harlem because "we" are not giving leadership. He said there has been a tremendous rise in the Negro liberation movement but a stagnation or nonexistence of party influence exists in such areas as Cleveland in the Negro community.

WINSTON concluded his comments by stating that in his opinion the direction of the report is absolutely sound. He said he would endorse the question of flexibility in forms and he liked the idea of breaking out of isolation.

SAC, NEWARK

2/10/51

SAC, NEW YORK (100-1,2170)

CP, USA, DISTRICT 2
NATIONAL GROUPS
IS-C
(OO:NY)

Identity of Source

[redacted] who was
furnished reliable info
Organization of
National Groups, CP b7D

Description of info

Date Received

1/28/51

Original where located

[redacted]

copy of informant's report follows:

1 - Newark (100- [redacted]) (RM)

1 - New York (100-1190) (JACK STACHEL) (42)

1 - New York (100-957) ([redacted]) (47)

1 - New York (100-10400)

1 - New York (100-1021)

1 - New York (100-83094) (45)

1 - New York (100-1330)

1 - New York (100-1020)

1 - New York (100-94544)

1 - New York (100-9724)

1 - New York (100-103275)

1 - New York (100-99527)

1 - New York (100-1025) ("L'Unita") (41)

1 - New York (100-143805) ("La Nueva Voz") (42)

1 - New York (100-401) ("German American") (4)

1 - New York (100-21) (Morning Freiheit) (41)

1 - New York (100-412) (Russia, Golos)

COPIES COMPLETED

1 - New York (100-1,2170) (42)

COB:tax
(1)

100-80638-2/10

Searched	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1951	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waterhouse

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b7D

- 1 - New York (65-3310) (Magyar Szo)
- 1 - New York (105-1043) ("Lraper")
- 1 - New York (100-1166) ("Laisve")
- 1 - New York (100-81641) (CP, USA Organization)(42)
- 1 - New York (100-54551) (CP, USA National Groups)
- 1 - New York (100-26603) (CP, NYS)(42)
- 1 - New York (100-37211) (Factionalism)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA Membership)
- 1 - Supv. #47
- 1 - Supv. #46
- 1 - Supv. #45
- 1 - SA

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1/28/65

At the present time in New York City most of the national groups publish newspapers, such as "L'Unita", "La Nueva Voz", the "German-American", "Morning Freiheit", Rusky Golos, Magyar Szor, the Armenian & Lithuanian papers.

The editors and staff members of these papers meet once each month as the Minor Press Club, for the purpose of liaison with the Party and establishing the Party line to be disseminated in their publications. JACK STACHEL is the leader of these discussions as the representative from the National Office of the CP.

The Party organization in New York includes a National Groups unit, who are CP members. The hub of each of these individual groupings or clubs is the particular foreign language newspaper.

The editorial staff, and persons responsible in one way or another for the publication of each particular paper are definitely members of the CP, and form the nucleus of the particular nationality group or club involved.

Some of these individuals are regular members of CP community clubs or clubs in the Industrial Organization of the Party.

Those individuals who are not members of such a club are undoubtedly members of a Nationality group or club in the District organization.

Clubs in the Nationality groupings do not hold regular and formal meetings, such as a regular community club. In many cases their meetings are more on the nature of social gatherings, press staff meetings, and special press conferences are held when international events dictates.

In many cases dues are not collected from Nationality club members on a regular basis. In some cases the editor of the paper, or functionary of the paper will collect dues at intervals and turn them over to a regular Party representative, who could be a club chairman or club official of a community club in his area.

It is estimated that there are perhaps 75-100 CP members in New York City who are connected in one way or another with foreign language CP newspapers. Of this number it is estimated that perhaps 50 have no club or industrial affiliation and can be said to be members of nationality groups or clubs.

For example, in the Italian Group, the Staff of "L'Unita", all of whom are CP members, are listed as follows:



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[redacted] rarely attends staff meetings of "L'Unita", is the liaison man between "L'Unita" and Italian sources, and contributes regularly as a columnist to L'Unita.

It has been learned that [redacted] and [redacted] of the Hungarian paper "Magyar Szó" have had such strong ideological differences, what with [redacted] being pro-Chinese and [redacted] being pro-Soviet, that [redacted] has stated her intentions of breaking off with the paper.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2/25/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated February 15-16, 1965, containing information orally furnished February 15-16, 1965, by CG 5824-S* who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs [redacted] and RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on February 23, 1965, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9081.

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In connection with the report of [redacted] dealing with Party building, which is referred to in the enclosed informant's statement, CG 5824-S* advised that while [redacted] remarks are set forth in a narrative fashion, he did make extensive use of a blackboard where he had listed certain numbers and their meanings. Therefore, when [redacted] made his remarks, he would mention a number and point to the blackboard and the listeners therefore translated the number and its equivalent into the context of what he was orally stating. For example, [redacted] on the blackboard, had the following notations which he used:

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RWH:MDW
(see page ii for dissemination)

100-80638-2150

J. Waters

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 25 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

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CG 100-33741

Copies:

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2-Baltimore (RM)
 - (1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Maryland District - Organization)
- 1-Cleveland (RM)
 - (1 - 100-17257 (CP, Ohio District - Organization)
- 2-Detroit (RM)
 - (1 - 100-8482 ([REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-2050 (CP, Michigan District - Organization)
- 3-Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS)
 - (1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 - (1 - 100-26044 (CP, Southern California District - Organization)
- 32-New York (RM)
 - (1 - 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
 - (1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
 - (1 - 100- (CLARA COLON)
 - (1 - 100-93665 ([REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
 - (1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
 - (1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
 - (1 - 100-82430 ([REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-128255 ([REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
 - (1 - 100- ([REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)
 - (1 - 100-15946 (JAMES TORMEY)
 - (1 - 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
 - (1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
 - (1 - 100-27539 (CARL WINTER)
 - (1 - 100-69956 (HELEN WINTER)
 - (1 - 100-21431 (MARTIN YOUNG)
 - (1 - 100-141914 ([REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
 - (1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)
 - (1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)
 - (1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
 - (1 - 100-79717 (CP, USA - Political Activities)
 - (1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
 - (1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100-102320 (CP, USA vs SACB)
 - (1 - 100- (CIRM)

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RWH:MDW

(see page iii for additional dissemination)

CG 100-33741

Copies:

32-New York (RM)(Con't.)

- (1 - 97-169 (Publishers New Press)
- (1 - 100-97167 ("Political Affairs").
- (1 - 100-128814 (CP, New York State District - Organization)
- (1 - 100- (Ninth World Youth Festival, Algiers, Algeria, August, 1965)

1-San Antonio (RM)

- (1 - 100-7232 (JOHN WILLIAM STANFORD)

1-Tampa (RM)

- (1 - 100- (PAT TOOHEY)

6-Chicago

1-WFO (RM)

- (1 - A)134-46-9081 (1 - 100- (Assembly of the Accused)
- (1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)
- (1 - 100- (Assembly of the Accused)

RWH:MDW

(51)

CG 100-33741

#1 = 300
#2 = Bay Area
#3 = DuBois Clubs
#4 = 40
#5 = South
#6 = Festival
#7 = 500

At no time did specifically refer to any of the above seven equivalents of the listed numbers.

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February 15-16, 1965

During the period of February 13-15, 1965, a meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and certain invited guests was held at the Hotel Manhattan, 45th Street and 8th Avenue, New York City. Among those who attended all or a portion of this meeting were the following:

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GUS HALL
GEORGE MEYERS
JAMES JACKSON
[REDACTED]

ROBERT THOMPSON
HENRY WINSTON
CARL WINTER
HELEN WINTER
GIL GREEN

(attended February 15, 1965,
session only)

MORRIS CHILDS
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

(attended February 13, 1965,
session only and returned
to Chicago)

ARNOLD JOHNSON
PHIL BART
JOHN WILLIAM STANFORD

(left the meeting Sunday,
p.m., February 14, 1965,
after attending first two
sessions)

BEN DOBBS
[REDACTED]

BETTY GANNETT
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
MICKEY LIMA
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES TORNEY
IRVING POTASH
[REDACTED]

JACK STACHEL
[REDACTED]

PAT TOOHEY
[REDACTED]

(attended afternoon session
of February 15, 1965, only)

The agenda previously set for this meeting was as follows:

- 1) Party building with reports by GUS HALL and [redacted] February 13-14, 1965;
- 2) Vietnam with report by HENRY WINSTON, February 15, 1965;
- 3) Steel developments with report by CARL WINTER, February 15, 1965.

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Due, however, to subsequent events, the report on Vietnam was presented by BOB THOMPSON and the scheduled report on steel developments was not delivered and instead referred to the next meeting of the Secretariat. As a replacement for the report on steel, a discussion was substituted on the WILLIAM ALBERTSON case.

Chairmen for the various sessions of this National Board meeting were as follows:

Saturday, February 13, 1965, first session, a.m., HENRY WINSTON;

Saturday, February 13, 1965, second session, p.m., IRVING POTASH;

Sunday, February 14, 1965, first session, a.m., PHIL BART;

Sunday, February 14, 1965, second session, p.m., [redacted]

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Monday, February 15, 1965, first session, a.m., MICKEY LIMA;

Monday, February 15, 1965, second session, p.m., GEORGE MEYERS.

This meeting of the National Board was opened at approximately 10:00 a.m., after which the first report was presented by GUS HALL, the essence of which was as follows:

Let me first say that sickness has kept some people, like GIL and KERCH, away from this meeting.

The scope of the study of CP organization has expanded and of necessity must touch on policy matters as well as organizational matters. The JOHNSON Administration's war in North Vietnam and South Vietnam is for us a moment for consideration of policy and tactics. The study of the Party has raised some question of the application of policy, including some concrete proposals, made by the National Board. [redacted] also will raise some questions and although they may overlap, they are also related. The same will be true in the case of the report of CARL.

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It is necessary to understand that the study of the Party is due to its successes and its gains as well therefore as the need for the establishment of a better Party structure and norms of Party work. Comrades WINNIE and JACK as well as BETTY deserve our thanks for their doggedness in the study of the Party. This study of the CP today is not an end, it is only the first assessment. This study also helped to raise our real understanding of the role of the Party.

I will speak of two areas of our Party work. These are not new but many questions need some new answers. In some areas we will reinforce old answers. In some cases we have no immediate answers; however, we should not let this lack of answers frustrate us.

The first area of which I shall speak is the need to further develop--to raise again, our strategic aims and to develop our tactics in the light of these aims and new developments. What is the nature of the criticism of our Party on this question? Some have a feeling that because we talk only on tactical problems, we sound like all others and do not stand out. Secondly, some feel that the over-all image of the CP, USA is "off" because we have not projected ahead. Then, it is also said we over-emphasize unity and therefore do not "criticize" something that would set us apart. In the 1964 election some believed we put all our eggs in one basket and did not criticize JOHNSON, the Democratic Party, etc. Now because of the war in South Vietnam some, like those in Chicago, criticize our "weakness" and the bad application of our line. Is such criticism justified? Some of it is and some is not. If we are in agreement that the central task in the 1964 elections was the smashing and defeat of the ultra-right--and I am not so sure we are united on this--then we can argue that we may have been "one-sided" in the "application" of our policy but we do not argue on whether the policy was correct or not. Perhaps we should have placed more emphasis on mass struggles and pressures.

Now, about tactics in general. This is a new area for us. The essence of the right timing and emphasis is most important in tactical maneuvers. There were two phases in our tactics. First,

up to November 3, the main emphasis was on the defeat of the ultra-right. I saw some leaflets that if they had not been signed CP, USA, could easily have been put out by the Democratic Party. Next, we should assess how quickly we made the shift after the election to actually defeat the ultra-right by forcing the Administration to go further on Vietnam. In making the shift we have to guard against the fact that we do not join GOLDWATER and NIXON. They demand war, we demand stopping the war in Vietnam, but we still need to be clear. There are comrades who say that our election statement was wrong and how can we call the election results a "victory" or "people's mandate" or why do we talk of a developing "people's coalition" or the role of labor when labor is so inactive. These criticisms we do not accept. How do we answer these criticisms? Some of the critics were sincere. When we hesitate to hail a victory for peace, against racism, etc., we will from that moment on lose our relationship with the people. What is a popular vote if it is not a mandate unless we accept the non-Marxist view that all "capitalist elections are frauds." Our younger comrades do not understand this. Our task is to articulate and emphasize what is in the minds of the people if their thinking is fuzzy.

Was there a confluence of opinions? Yes. It must be shown that these movements are coming together, will continue to grow and therefore our opinion, "embryo of people's coalition," is correct.

We must not create an atmosphere in our Party where we discourage open discussion. We must be patient and explain yet have no "accommodation" with incorrect views. It is true, however, that we do not speak or write enough about anti-monopoly coalition on questions of the class struggle and socialism--that is some of our strategic aims. It is also true that we take it for granted that because we stated our views a number of years ago, everyone knows our aims. But we need to restate them even if only for the sake of the youth. However, it is true that we do not relate our tactics to our long range concepts. The youth is not clear, especially those who are just now coming into the CP. In the U.S. this is a very difficult question. In Italy, France, etc., this is understood even if emphasis there, too, is on daily demands. Our Party historically has made serious errors on this, that is over-emphasizing one or the other strategic and tactical aims.

How do we condemn the war in South Vietnam or the terror in Selma, Alabama? Are these things due only to "evil men" or individuals good or bad? This is not the answer. We must show that capitalism or the monopolistic corporations are responsible. All our papers and magazines, "Political Affairs," "Peoples World," "The Worker," etc., must correct this approach. We tend to speak of imperialism mainly as a governmental policy rather than placing more emphasis on the essence of imperialism--that is monopolies, trusts, etc. Another of the weaknesses is that we do not explain the daily essence of exploitations such as the speed-ups, automation, poor wages, etc. We have very little popular literature on automation because we think that just because we know its effects on the working class, others ought to know also.

JOHNSON's policy on the longshore strike is just plain "strike breaking." It reduces the union to separate ports. This union strike is not comparable to the UAW strike. The new Secretary of Commerce opened up his career with an appeal to break the longshoremen's strike.

In connection with the HCUA, we pushed for the investigation of the ultra-right but what they are doing is only studying the problem--procrastinating.

Our Party, this leadership, should approach a change of tactical emphasis with caution. Lenin said, "The surest way to discredit a new idea is to reduce it to absurdity." We do not want to return to the day when our Party used strategic aims for daily tactics or vice versa. We must explain to the young comrades the idea of the unity of strategy and tactics. This is the reason that the ruling class fears the CP, USA. We are a force and, therefore, the ruling class goes after us and not after the other groups. This idea of unity of strategy and tactics is scientific Marxism. This concept grows as we gain experience. We should tell our good young comrades that it is not enough to be right or correct or just or radical. These do not win revolutions. Take the civil rights movement slogans as an example. They are simple demands for the vote, for equality, etc. The Soviet Revolution was won with slogans of peace, bread and land. These were correct tactically and they won the people. The Bolsheviki linked the simple demands to the socialist aims but without tactical emphasis they could not do it and win.

In regard to the 1964 elections we were correct because we needed first to defeat the ultra-right. The people followed and did exactly this. Now, we need to explain this and to understand that the people move only if their self-interest is involved.

On civil rights, why the ups and downs? Why the down now? The emphasis on "long bloody summer" and MALCOLM X's "ballots or bullets" serve as a provocation and disservice to the civil rights movement.

We cannot go back to the slogan "Down tools on May Day" as used in the 1920's.

Because of the election victory in 1964, the right to vote in Alabama will be won. Selma is a symbol. This right to vote is important since there are Negro majorities in the South. The power structure of the South will change. The Negro, together with advanced whites, will change the state power structure in places like Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, etc. This change will affect the trade unions and will sharpen all class struggles. The change in political structure will change the power role of the trade unions. This is also bound to affect international policies and it will affect the base of the ultra-right in the South.

On reapportionment, this is not yet understood by us. Reapportionment will give more power to the city and the working class, both Negro and white. Reapportionment must be seen as a big step toward an anti-monopoly coalition and movements of the people resting on the unity of interests. What is our Party's relationship to MORSE and to the movement of the masses?

At the present, we work in a way where we depend on a few "key people" and believe that the rest of the membership can collect money and distribute a pamphlet or a paper once in a while. This means that "key people" replace the Party. This narrows our work because these "key people" deal only with leaders and not with the grassroots. This means no life in the clubs, no struggles in the communities, no Party leadership of the masses, who are the makers of history. All this results in no recruiting into our Party. Our Party must be the initiators of mass movements and struggles. This is why we emphasize our appeal to "leaders." Ask ourselves, what did we ask Party clubs to do on the war in Vietnam? Or on poverty? Why is San Francisco different. It is because they have some clubs working among the people. When we talk of the war on poverty, we talk of a conference of leaders. This by itself is not wrong but is there a role for Party clubs and masses?

On the situation in the steel unions, if there is a victory for ABEL, we made it possible. If it had not been for us there would have been a lopsided victory for MC DONALD. But we must admit that up to the recent past we were counting the line-up of the leaders rather than mobilizing the rank and file into movements that both MC DONALD and ABEL called for. Our task, an everlasting one, is that we always bring the rank and file, Party and non-Party, into action. We should not say either the leaders or the rank and file.

On trade union work, we cannot start with a premise that all trade union leaders are "scoundrels." When we say this we cannot organize the rank and file. Nowadays, we do not say much on shop demands. We do not print leaflets or shop papers; therefore, the workers do not know if we care about them. If to this neglect we add "carping" about their leaders, the workers will ignore us. If we emphasize the ills of capitalism and the positive aspects of socialism, the workers will listen.

On automation in coal, did we deal with this serious problem or did we neglect this? Now we say "Remove the leadership" but the United Mine Workers has now started a drive to organize the unorganized coal miners. We should organize rank and file committees in that union to support this drive and greet the leaders. We should get support from the AFL-CIO for them. We should tell the workers the history of the United Mine Workers support to organize the unorganized in the 1930's. Let's tell them, the AFL-CIO, to repay them now.

We are isolated as a Party from the problems of the poor. Let me give an example. Take the White Motor strike in Cleveland. This strike telescopes every issue facing the working class but the Ohio comrades do not understand our role--the role of the Party.

The National Board should consider if we should call a Party convention in December, 1965, and whether we should be working on a program, constitution, etc. Maybe we should announce publicly this intention to hold a conference although events in Vietnam may make this dangerous at the present moment. A Party program would perhaps help resolve some difficulties dealing with the relation between strategy and tactics. We should also announce a program of work in the trade unions, that is a program of concentration. In civil rights we should pick some central issue in the legislative field. We should consider concretely the formation now of a left electoral organization both local and national. Philadelphia presents a good example of "citizens committee's" of non-communists and

communists which was helpful in the work of the Party for election and for legality. A youth summer project bigger than last year should now be prepared. This will help transform our Party, the CP, USA, into a much stronger force.

Following the completion of HALL's report, [] then presented the second report on Party building, the essence of which was as follows:

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How do we make the CP a force? The acid test is if we can connect ourselves with the masses. This fight for the Party is an ever present effort.

During 1963-64 some positive results have been achieved in our renewal campaign, but I must say the gains have not been great. We must always start from the premise that the CP needs to be built and can be built. Therefore, if we seek out main areas of work, we will succeed.

In the past year some 300, youths plus a few older people, were recruited into the Party. Since the time of the 17th Convention in 1959, there had been a continuous decline in our membership and in our press circulation. However, now, although all the facts are not in, it appears we have halted this downward trend and that there is even an upward movement.

In recent years, our dues payments and reports have not been an accurate measure of our membership. If perhaps we would multiply the figure of dues reports three to four times, we may get some accurate estimate of the membership. In some districts, many people are behind in their dues payments. We are now also discovering clubs that no one has been in touch with. In addition, we have found many who work with us and work on a daily basis but who do not pay dues. We had agreed at our Secretariat meeting to give some figures on membership, but because of greater FBI activity in the last few days, we later agreed not to raise it. However, the current trend is towards an increase in dues payments. The figure on membership given at the 17th Convention was 10,000 and it probably is about the same today.

During 1963-64, we have seen a trend towards increased income for the national office. "The Worker" and "Political Affairs" have ended their decline in circulation and the circulation of the "Peoples World" is increasing.

There still exists in our Party certain liquidationist pressures. Some say "There is no need for the Party." Others say

mass organizations are "working without us" and others put forward the argument of persecution as the basis for liquidation. All of these people underestimate the role of our Party and this is because these people do not know the total involvement of our Party.

There are five key areas where today we need more emphasis. These are: first of all, class concentration; secondly, fight for legality; thirdly, a closing of the gaps between mass work and the Party; fourthly, additional cadre training; and lastly, increased inner democracy.

By April first we should come forth with plans for concentration dealing with issues, propaganda, education, etc. There should be concentration work among the Negro masses with our efforts centered in Harlem, South Side of Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles. Concentration should also be centered around the DuBois Clubs.

The summer educational activities instituted last year should be carried through again this summer. We should plan activities for at least 40 youths in this regard. In addition, we should seek to involve more persons in work in the South and get the youth active in the Festival activities. In 1965 our goal for recruiting among the youth is 500.

One problem that is facing us today is how to merge the youth of this generation and the older comrades. We should use the vitality of the youth and they, the youth, in turn, should learn from the older comrades' experience.

We should also undertake a concentrated fight on the right of the Party to get on the ballot. GIL and his commission should work to see if we can get on the ballot in various places. This activity would be distinct from the left forms that Gus previously talked about.

We must also have concentration on activity in support of the mass campaign against the McCarran Act. Results of effort in Texas and Oregon are good examples of what can be accomplished in this regard. We must push in connection with the Washington Conference of March 14th, the Assembly of the Accused, seeking repeal of the McCarran Act. --ARNOLD, DOROTHY, CLARA, MIMI and MARTIN form the commission working on this mass campaign against the McCarran Act and broader related activity.

In our mass tasks, we must find ways to use "The Worker" and other pamphlets. We must determine how to expand Party democracy so our members can contribute to policy, tactics, etc. We should work for the re-establishment of the paper "Party Affairs" and seek the end of "floating clubs." In this latter connection, we must connect at every level. There should be meetings of club organizers and the organization-education commissions should organize conferences and invite club representatives.

On the matter of cadre training, LUMER is too loaded at the present time but the districts can still help by organizing more classes and schools. They should draw in more workers, not necessarily full time.

I therefore suggest the following as the program for the forthcoming period:

- 1) That the summer youth project of the magnitude indicated be adopted and carried through;
- 2) That we organize full support for the scheduled "Assembly of the Accused;"
- 3) We prepare for a CP convention;
- 4) We seek the establishment of the committee for left electoral coalition;
- 5) That the trade union commission prepare a plan for concentration;
- 6) That the civil rights commission prepare a plan for concentration;
- 7) That the organizational-educational commission consider re-establishment of "Party Affairs" as an internal organ of the Party.
- 8) That the organizational-educational commission discuss club functions.

Following the foregoing two reports, there occurred discussions in which the following individuals participated. Where pertinent, remarks of these individuals are set forth:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

To improve the character of the National Board and its work, we must place this subject on the agenda of a forthcoming meeting. I believe an example of a good meeting was the Midwest Conference held last week. At such meetings, we need to concentrate on one subject matter such as Party work and mass work.

On masses being against escalating of local wars, for example Korea. Local wars cannot be won by imperialists. GOLDWATER was defeated because some people were afraid local wars would become world wars.

On the matter of civil rights, we need to update our ideas adopted in 1959. While these ideas are not wrong, they do need to be brought into line with the new situation.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

On the Assembly of the Accused, the purpose of this meeting is to knock out the McCarran Act and this, if accomplished, would give impetus to the holding of a Party convention in December. The recent Oregon activity shows the breath of the movement against the McCarran Act. Full page ads recently appeared in the "Washington Post." They should be reprinted and sent out. The whole McCarran Act matter has now become a movement of a world wide scale. A great deal of discussion is now being carried on in many countries. The Assembly of the Accused, when it is held, will expose the current public caricature of our Party. HARRINGTON has agreed to help in the McCarran fight. Some people in the current Administration are very squeamish about the McCarran Act and are inviting pressure for its K.O.

PHIL BART

JOHN WILLIAM STANFORD

The lack of a physical presence of the CP makes the youth and others turn towards ultra-left organization. I am against the idea GUS put forward concerning the HUAC investigating the ultra-right. This will only be a whitewash of the ultras. We should demand instead a condemnation of the ultra-right.

GEORGE MEYERS

We should amend our statement on activities in the South to say "some" rather than many. Progressive Labor Movement and the FBI have brought about divisions of labor and the Party is full of stool pigeons. Some people are even afraid to talk to me.

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BEN DOBBS

I believe that the reports on organization should have been more concrete. We should name those that "distort" or name the papers, etc., to which we make reference.



BETTY GANNETT

The renewal campaign as far as I can see did not bring results. There is not a single club in New York that can concentrate on a community level. This is different than in the old days. Our style of work must conform to the reality of today. I suggest field organizers who will visit and revisit areas every so often.

GUS HALL

In connection with the legal struggle of the Party, here are a few things which have happened which indicate the current extent of the Government's action. Our tax case is set for March 22nd and the Party case for March 16th. There are two volunteers who apparently have informed the Department they will register the Party. One is from San Francisco, California. We should conclude that by this maneuver that the Government is preparing for another indictment against the Party. The Supreme Court will knock this out but it is harassment and we need to do something to expose this. If at this point we can intervene with mass pressure, we can win.

At this point, the first day's meeting adjourned and on the following morning discussion continued with the following participants:

MICKEY LIMA

The big problem is getting the membership to function regularly and in an organized way. In some areas they do function this way but this is very limited.

JIM TORNEY

DOROTHY HEALEY

What springboard are we providing to Party membership to discuss the ways and means of finding solutions to our problems? I disagree with the idea that "We will come back to this problem" --this is a polite fiction. Why this discussion? I thought we were supposed to get down to cases but we did not. I blame the Secretariat, not DANNY. DANNY is new and raw and has not been given the opportunity to learn and draw conclusions. He needs more experience. The Center never really gets at the roots of matters. They do not know the membership. Members are afraid and that is why they are not active.

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BOB THOMPSON

IRVING POTASH

JACK STACHEL

PAT TOOHEY

JIM JACKSON

HENRY WINSTON

The Party has advanced and as always the bottom of the Party is most important. It is basic that the working class remain the heart of our problems. Where are the reserves in Steel, in Auto, for the Party? We need these in order to build the Party.

The movement of militancy for equality is not a movement against the working class which, from a dialectical point of view, is a combination of all. However, at the present time, the freedom movement does stand out. We must find an answer to illegality, semi-legality and legality. We must determine how to get into the ranks-- people who can work either way.

Following the above discussions, summaries were presented by [] and HALL. The essence of [] summary was as follows:

Concrete experiences are very helpful. Some people have been wrong in interpretations like on "left coalition." I did not propose exact forms, etc. I only proposed that we examine the possibility of using other forms to help in the fight for legality of our Party. On the role of the Party in the present day condition, I disagree with BEN. He says assess all mass movements and bring them together, etc. To do this negates the role of the Party.

The essence of HALL's summary was as follows:

On the criticism of reports and their generalities. Perhaps some things do not apply to some districts but still they are valid nationally. In regard to the HUAC, the fact is that a Congressman in Georgia was elected despite them. We must be careful not to close the doors to the fact that some Government committees can be useful.

In regard to youth. Education is O.K. and necessary but we must be more dramatic and go further than we did last summer. The Cadre in that summer project are now all working. If we come out of this summer with 100 new cadre, that will be the greatest achievement.

On key questions. I agree with MICKEY that Northern California has decided to organize and lead the present Party membership. While some in this leadership do not agree, this is a Party of action.

The Vietnam crisis started last Sunday. Would it be wrong to get reports in to the National Office telling us what the Party has done? Is this exhortation? We stress age to avoid organization of our membership. I have attended some clubs where I squirmed because a half an hour was spent apologizing for the age of the membership as the reason for their inactivity. We minimize the size of the Party. You cannot mobilize clubs if you do not have a system of mobilization. We cannot limit ourselves to monthly club meetings or meetings of club chairmen for mobilizations.

On the matter of left forces and their mobilization. We presented this problem to the National Board and it helped narrow the differences.

There are some comrades who favor an all inclusive left organization which stands for socialism. In principle, I am not

against this but I do not believe it is advisable at this moment. There is no vacuum to fill. However, the same comrades are against a "limited" form of left organization on issues such as the electoral. I am in favor of establishing some such organization to win election possibilities, but this will not be a substitute for the Party. As long as liquidationist tendencies exist in our Party, I am against anything beyond this united electoral of the left. Some here still believe that we cannot build this Party but they are wrong. Let us present this overall problem to the district boards and see what will be forthcoming.

In a recent interview with correspondents of the magazine "Nation," I was asked why we stressed the unity of the left. I cited the example, if it can be achieved, of uniting all in the trade union movement that believed in socialism around trade union issues as well as the peace movement. If this could be done, it would be a real force.

On special youth sections or clubs. They did this in Oregon in a specific situation and it worked. The point is to close the gap of "two Parties" into one Party. In summary, I make the following proposals:

- 1) The summer youth project be accepted and followed through as recommended;
- 2) That we organize full support for the Assembly of the Accused as indicated;
- 3) Preparations for the convention in December, 1965, be considered and that the Secretariat set up committees to deal with this but that there be no public pronouncement on this matter;
- 4) That the Secretariat set up a committee to explore the possibility of electoral coalitions. State Boards also should start discussions on this same question;
- 5) Trade union commission, as well as the organizational department, should formulate plans for concentration campaigns for shorter work weeks, shorter hours, etc. This would include grass-roots and rank and file. Each district should pick the main industry for this campaign and concentrate on building the CP;
- 6) The Negro Commission should plan for districts to have assigned concentration areas and that the commission bring in specific plans;
- 7) "Party Affairs" be re-established as the organ of internal affairs, and that the organizational-educational department bring in proposals on its content;

8) That a campaign be mapped on poverty.

At this point, HALL then raised the matter of the WILLIAM ALBERTSON appeal on his expulsion from the CP. He stated that the Party had now exhausted all available means to check on the authenticity of the ALBERTSON document. He went to the blackboard and wrote the number three together with the abbreviation SU indicating that three Soviet experts, in addition to experts in the U.S., had rendered opinions concerning the validity of the ALBERTSON document. While none of these experts, including those of the Soviet Union, as he had indicated on the blackboard, had made a hundred percent identification of this document as being authentic, they all indicated they were 90-95% certain that the document was valid. HALL then made a motion that the ALBERTSON case be considered closed and his appeal on his expulsion denied. He added that the hasty action regarding the ALBERTSON expulsion had been necessitated by the need of protecting the Party by avoiding the possibility that ALBERTSON could conceivably be the voluntary registrant that the Department of Justice had been looking for in connection with prosecution under the McCarran Act.

At this point, IRVING POTASH spoke up stating that if there was a one percent or even half percent chance that the ALBERTSON document was not authentic and that this was a frame-up, he was not going to hang ALBERTSON on the basis of the reports and investigation conducted. Others like GIL GREEN, JIM JACKSON joined POTASH in his objection and there followed a refusal to adopt HALL's motion. An additional discussion then took place on the ALBERTSON matter and it was decided after a rather bitter period of argument that there should be additional report on this matter on February 15, 1965, by CARL WINTER at which time that individual would give a complete summary of every phase of the ALBERTSON case.

This concluded the second day sessions.

The first session of February 15, 1965, opened with a report by BOB THOMPSON substituting for WINSTON on the topic of South Vietnam. The essence of THOMPSON's report was as follows:

It is still difficult to assess the happenings of the last eight or nine days. The situation has not jelled yet and

decisions by the ruling circles in the U.S. have not been set. Our task is to secure mass intervention in order to shape the course of events in this crucial world situation.

But is it possible to establish a frame for discussion? The war in Vietnam has now reached a crucial juncton--it can either widen whereby it will involve wider forces of major powers, imperialist and others, or it can be negotiated.

This crucial moment is not a repetition of the past. If we contrast the last eight or nine days with the crucial moments of Tonkin Bay, we see the difference. The assaults on the North Vietnamese within the past week represent an aggression of a different type. The imperialist premise for these attacks are quite different--in Tonkin Bay there supposedly was "aggression" in international waters but the raids of last week were open aggression based on U.S. reverses in the civil war in South Vietnam. This attack was against a sovereign country because it gives support to the liberation movement of the people. This attack was a far-reaching, significant, aggressive step, a provocation. Then, also the extent and the duration of the attacks on North Vietnam within the last eight or nine days have been quite different than in Tonkin Bay. These massive attacks which involved 150 planes were as big as attacks in World War II. This is not a separate attack of reprisal but the placing of the war in South Vietnam on a different basis. Up to now the war in South Vietnam had essentially been a ground war but the U.S. by attacks in the air is trying to change the frame of this because the U.S. and the puppets are losing. U.S. imperialism cannot win no matter what it does and the situation is like that in North Korea. The U.S. is therefore trying to avoid the commitment of ground forces and is trying to transfer the arena of struggle to where the U.S. has the preponderance of strength--on the sea and in the air. However, the liberation forces and their allies will not fall into the trap of fighting in an arena favoring the imperialists.

This war is not the same as the Cuban confrontation where nuclear forces of the world faced each other, although the dangers existing in this Vietnam situation are great. Limited wars can be won in places like Cuba and Algeria but limited wars cannot be won by the imperialists. Peaceful coexistence does not mean the end of limited wars of liberation.

The war in Vietnam indicates a greater strengthening of the unity of the socialist forces. The reason for KOSTYGIN's visit to North Vietnam, China, and North Korea was very basic.

Such actions of the Soviet Union are a part of their determined vigorous effort to secure maximum unity of the socialist and anti-imperialist camp in the face of U.S. provocations in Vietnam. There is no speculation when we say that KOSYGIN's visit was an effort to prevent the spreading of war. It was to prepare the grounds for an offensive to secure a negotiated settlement of the problem. This course of action involved the strengthening of Vietnam and also helped to prepare the ground for negotiation.

The most favorable thing resulting from this situation in Vietnam is that unity of the socialist camp will remain and the socialist camp will not move away from support of Vietnam. However, some say this is "provocation" by China to trap the Soviet Union. This is not so. It was a provocation by U.S. imperialism.

At the present time possibilities are opening up to force a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam problems. This won't be quick. It will take time and there will be a protracted fight to compel U.S. imperialism to negotiate. There will be some more dangerous moments. In the U.S. when such crucial moments do develop, the opposition is stifled. However, the warmakers have failed to achieve the unity they expected. Even some Senators, like WAYNE MORSE, ERNEST GRUENING, and FRANK CHURCH, continue to speak up, as have some important sections of the press.

The peace movement has not by recent events in Vietnam been disoriented even momentarily. Actions are occurring all over the country against the spreading of the war.

The opinions of some that differences between the Administration and moderates and the ultra-right disappear at such times is not so, only seemingly so. The differences only change in form and are in reality sharper. We do not have to be apologetic to the ultra-right on this.

We have no program of action at this moment but we know that in New York at least, despite news blackout, demonstrations have been held. For example, there was one last Saturday in front of the United Nations. However, the organized peace movement has not as yet broken out of its circle to reach the wider masses.

What can we do? Here are a few ideas. We can make ourselves available to the voices of opposition and give them forums, mass meetings, etc. We can pay attention to Senator CHURCH and give him some assistance. We must also seek to get some expression from trade unions by individuals of note--this will not be easy but we must try. We can also try to get expression and organized discussion in local unions, at least in some.

The Party itself should get out a central piece of literature on the Vietnam situation and use it as a national leaflet. This is already being done on a local scale. We must move into action with everything we have got--this is not a momentary crisis. Finally, we should also consider a more advanced "left" peace center.

Following the report, a general discussion took place in which the following individuals participated. Where pertinent, remarks of these individuals are set forth:

ARNOLD JOHNSON

Within the first 24 hours of the Vietnam crisis, there was some form of action in many places but newspapers have generally blacked out the details. For example, last Wednesday there was a demonstration in front of the White House in Washington but no publicity. The reaction of the Women Strike for Peace and the DuBois Clubs on this expanded war in Vietnam has been very good. They have organized demonstrations in such places as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Madison, New York, New Brunswick, in Connecticut at Yale and at many other places. There is a Madison Square Garden meeting on this subject in the making, and there are plans being laid for an Easter march on Washington. The SANE organization has issued petitions and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is demanding that there be negotiations ending the war in Vietnam. The "Peace on Earth" Conference scheduled next week in New York will discuss the matter. Other conferences on peace will include the Helsinki World Conference of the Quakers, an interfaith affair. Presently, the weakest link in the peace movement now is the Jewish groups.

GUS HALL

Presently, there is a congressional block of approximately 42 which is standing firm on the subject of a negotiated peace in South Vietnam. They are initiating a letter asking for such negotiation which will be circulated among Congressmen.

JIM JACKSON

I agree with BOB's estimate regarding the Vietnam situation. We must look to those forces who are differentiating themselves from the JOHNSON Administration. In the Administration, the warmakers are MC GEORGE BUNDY, General MAXWELL TAYLOR, Secretary of Defense ROBERT S. MC NAMARA, and MC CONE. We should call

for the firing of these "failures." These people favor military strikes. It is obvious that the U.S. cannot dominate Southeast Asia and will be left with Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand after South Vietnam has been found indefensible. General TAYLOR's theory of reducing North Vietnam will not hold Southeast Asia for imperialism although it would bring about a prolonged conflict. In the end, the U.S. will have to retreat on a world scale.

GIL GREEN

We need to stress the acuteness of the present danger. Sometimes discussions cannot be controlled and this may now be so in Washington. In Washington, they know they cannot win the war in South Vietnam. However, some there still think that they can repeat the Cuban missile crisis but the present situation is different. This is not a war between North and South Vietnam. The U.S. is directly involved and can lose which will be a disaster to U.S. imperialism.

We in the Party should utilize the differences now existing in the Democratic Party. JOHNSON did not get the support of his own Congressmen and this is why he had to call upon Senator DIRKSEN for help. We should direct our fire against JOHNSON and not his underlings. We must develop an educational campaign on South Vietnam. LLOYD RUSSEL's article on American atrocities in Vietnam in the book "Minority of One" should be utilized. We need to link the Vietnam situation with the struggle for Negro rights in the U.S. We must be against a Korean type settlement in South Vietnam and all U.S. troops must be withdrawn. We must emphasize the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese which the U.S. has been fighting.

Today, there is a healthier situation in the world movement based on the Vietnam situation, and we are basically united. We are achieving unity in action if not in ideology. The Soviet position is that the U.S. cannot talk of improving relations with the Soviet Union and yet attack others. China is not a warmonger.

CARL WINTER

On CLAUDE's comment "small wars" cannot be won, he is wrong. We must continue anti-war struggle like we continued the election struggle. I disagree with GIL that we must "concentrate" our fire on JOHNSON--we must remember the affect of mass pressure on JOHNSON in the last days of the election. We must help relate

this to mass feelings and place careful emphasis on JOHNSON for if we do otherwise it would appear that our election program was a mistake. We have always told the people not to "rely on JOHNSON" and that they must fight their own fight and demand that JOHNSON live up to his promises. We also must emphasize the continuing danger of the ultra-right for otherwise we play into the hands of the narrow ultra-left. "The Worker" should expose the press blackout on the Vietnam demonstrations and issue a special issue and leaflet reprint.

BETTY GANNETT

The big task in the U.S. is the need for an educational campaign to move the people. U.S. imperialism does not want to give up its hold in South Vietnam.

HENRY WINSTON

Many people do not properly understand the question of peaceful coexistence and the nature of the U.S. attacks on Vietnam. Many people think of coexistence as surrender. We must demand that JOHNSON carry through his mandate and destroy the arguments of GOLDWATER and the ultras that "we were right." We have got to get labor to act. We must demand the withdrawal of the 7th Fleet from the China Seas.

I agree with BOB. Generally, the response from all over the country has been good in connection with the Vietnam situation, but there has also been some sluggishness on the part of the Party in responding to the most recent attacks. Maybe some people thought this attack would be the opening for negotiations which would enable the U.S. to save face. I agree with GIL that "intentions and life do not always tally--sometimes they get out of control." Recently, there were three legislators in California who wrote to a number of Congressmen. They received responses from 54 such Congressmen who agreed to support the drive for a negotiated peace in South Vietnam. This can be spread in order to get popular support for such action.

The ROSEN group slogan is "lesser of two evils, strike again." This PLM group also recently attacked the Women Strike for Peace because they asked for "negotiations" instead of "U.S. imperialism--get out of South Vietnam."

JIM TORMEY



GUS HALL

I agree in general with BOB's report. In this type of discussion, people cannot bring out everything. In regard to CLAUDE and his comment on "limited" and "little wars," these are imperialist terms and CLAUDE used them in this sense. We should not confuse this with "wars of liberation" and "civil wars." In this connection, we should use WILFRED BURCHETT's book.

U.S. imperialism is fighting to "hold on" or "retreat with negotiated peace" and this in effect is a "negotiated retreat." We must be careful how we use this "negotiated peace" because some people do not understand. How do we put our basic position forward without alienating people? We do not want to repeat the mistakes of PLM against the Women Strike for Peace. When we support "negotiations," we do not have to feel we are bootlegging. We do not have to be one-sided in making distinctions between the ultra-right and JOHNSON. We must link ourselves with the people and the mandate for peace.

Again on the matter of "wars of liberation" some may be peaceful. We should not tell people in other countries how to fight for independence and whether it should be armed or otherwise.

We are doing many things to fight this war in South Vietnam but it is not enough. We need a better mobilization of our forces and others.

JACK STACHEL

No one can say that we have gone "overboard" on JOHNSON. Our statement by GUS last week and the editorials in our paper prove this. Maybe we even neglected attack on the ultra-right. We had better, however, be careful that we do not change our main line; that is, the differences between the JOHNSON Administration and the ultra-right.

KOSYGIN's trip was very important and we will know soon, I hope, about its results. However, I do not agree with GIL that we have achieved "unity of action" or that "agreement is near." The differences between the USSR and China are still there and are still with us. KOSYGIN's trip was really a public effort to tell

imperialism that the Soviet Union will not stand idly aside and let imperialism destroy independent states or escalate a war. This was a Soviet effort to strengthen the fight for peace. BUNDY's trip was an effort to counter this, but it was a failure.

MICKEY LIMA

For a decade now U.S. imperialism has been trying to hold onto Southeast Asia and has prevented a vote and peace in South Vietnam after the French defeat. The vulnerability of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam is now much greater than in Korea or Cuba and the people do see this and can be mobilized.

We should proceed to set up a left peace center to really give basic leadership in the fight for peace that goes beyond slogans and exposes of imperialism. We have been too slow. I doubt that we have a peace commission in the Center today. We need more coordination.

Here ended the first session, and at the second session held this date CARL WINTER, as had been previously decided on February 14, 1965, presented a detailed summary of all phases of the ALBERTSON investigation. He outlined the complete history of the ALBERTSON case including details of the location of the document; time elements involved in locating the document and it being turned over to Party representatives; contradictions in interview of BILL ALBERTSON and his admissions that the document's handwriting appeared to be his but that there were discrepancies; the naming by ALBERTSON of individuals who that individual felt could be responsible for the "frame-up" of him, etc. During this same report, it was noted by WINTER that in interview ALBERTSON had promised that he would not, regardless of the decision concerning his appeal from expulsion, do what JOHN LAUTNER had done by capitulating to the FBI or some other police organization. It was further pointed out that ALBERTSON apparently does have considerable support within the Party and it is obvious that he is aware from various sources current action being taken on his appeal.

Following WINTER's report, there was considerable discussion. Finally, JACKSON made the motion, which was agreed to by HALL and adopted by those present, that the Secretariat adopt the report given by WINTER and that a committee be selected by them to check up on and tie together all loose ends remaining in the ALBERTSON matter and that by April 1, 1965, a public statement be made to the effect that ALBERTSON's appeal has been rejected.

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 3/9/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, - USA - ORGANIZATION
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(OO: NEW YORK)

NY 2745-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 2/16/65, that HENRY WINSTON, GILBERT GREEN, and BEN DOBBS had an informal discussion at CP headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on above date.. The discussion in part pertained to the recently concluded National Board, CP, USA meeting held 2/13-15/65 at the Hotel Manhattan, New York City.

GILBERT GREEN said that he had discussed with GUS (HALL) the possibility of bringing AL RICHMOND in (NY) for the months of May and June. GREEN also commented that the party should publicly announce the fact that they are going to have a party convention (December, 1965) for the purpose of adopting a new program and a new constitution. GREEN said the announcement

2-Bureau

4-Los Angeles (INFO) (RM)
(1-100- (DOROTHY HEALEY)
(1-100- (CP, USA-Membership)
(1-100- (COMINFIL ILGWU)

4-San Francisco (INFO) (RM)
(1-100- (BEN DOBBS)
(1-100- (AL RICHMOND)
(1-100- (CP, USA - Membership)

10-New York
(1-100-86624) (CP, USA - International Relations)
(1-100-80638) (CP, USA - Membership) ~~4-2~~
(1-100-26603) (CP, USA - New York District)
(1-100-269) (HENRY WINSTON)
(1-100-13472) (GIL GREEN)
(1-100-128255) ()
(1-100-87211) (CP, USA -- Factionalism)
(1-100-129802) (CP, USA - Counterintelligence Program)
(1-100-80633) (CP, USA - Education)

HCO:gs

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NY 100-80641

should be made before any meetings take place "over there" (Editorial Conference scheduled for 3/1/65 in Moscow), so that no one can draw the conclusion that discussions "over there" had anything to do with the decision made here (National Board meeting - February, 1965.)

Continuing, GREEN commented that there was no problem legally because, if at any point, the convention cannot be held "because of restrictions", it could be postponed. GREEN stated that there is all kinds of speculation as to what is going to happen with the Russians and the Chinese, and what concessions the Russians would make and so forth. He said when "we" announce "our convention", people will tie it in with what is happening internationally.

HENRY WINSTON asked GREEN what his impression was of the recently concluded National Board meeting. GREEN stated that DOROTHY (HEALEY) was very critical of [redacted] report. He said that DOROTHY felt that it was mechanical and full of generalities, but felt strongly that the fault lies with the Secretariat and not with [redacted]. He said it was HEALEY's opinion that [redacted] does not possess the necessary experience to be entrusted with the organizational responsibility nationally. WINSTON agreed that it was "a little general", to which GREEN replied that all of "our" discussions tend to be general. He added that every board meeting that he has attended since he has been back has been general.

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GREEN continued that it was his opinion that the meeting would have been better if they had limited it to the portrait of one district. He said that in Los Angeles only about 20% of the people "we" have in trade union work can do anything for us. He said the largest group they have are old timers in the ILGWU, who no longer have contact with their own industry, because the Negro and Mexican women who work in that industry are considered by them to be "ignorant". GREEN said that 95% of the industry is now made up of Negro and Mexican women and, unless "we find a method of reaching them and working with them, we will have nothing". GREEN added that in fact some of "our old people" there, are an obstacle because of that attitude. He said there is chauvinism, they have different cultures, and do not know how to talk to these women.

NY 100-80641

WINSTON then asked what could be done about the party's educational set up. GREEN expressed the opinion that they must consider questions of mass education and propaganda as well as cadre education.

BEN DOBBS commented "I think there is a tendency to kid ourselves about the kind of membership figures that are thrown out".

The informant advised that the discussion closed with HENRY WINSTON apparently directing his comments at DOBBS, said he should take the floor at a future meeting and speak concretely about Los Angeles.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, BALTIMORE

DATE: 3/19/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA-ORGANIZATION
IS-C

- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
 - (1-100-) (CP, USA-YOUTH)
 - (1-100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - 3 - Chicago (RM)
 - (1-100-33745) (CP, USA-YOUTH)
 - (1-61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1-100-3740) (MORRIS CHILDS)
 - 2 - Cleveland (RM)
 - (1-100-) (CP, USA-YOUTH)
 - (1-65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
 - 3 - Detroit (RM)
 - (1-100-3420) (CARL WINTER)
 - (1-100-13740) (HELEN WINTER)
 - (1-100-8482) ()
 - 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1-100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
 - (1-100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 - 1 - Philadelphia (100-) (CP, USA-YOUTH) (RM)
 - 1 - San Antonio (100-) (JOHN STANFORD) (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA) (RM)
- [Redacted]
- 1 - NY (100-89691) (CP, USA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-79717) (CP, USA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-80644) (CP, USA-YOUTH MATTERS) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-89590) (CP, USA-STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-86624) (CP, USA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
 - ① - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-80633) (CP, USA-EDUCATION) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-81675) (CP, USA-PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (42)
 - 1 - NY (100-80641)

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JAH: rmp
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WJW

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SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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42	
FBI - NEW YORK	
Waters	

NY 100-80641

Identity of Source: [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info: Report on enlarged meeting of CPUSA National Board, 2/13,14 and 15/65 at Manhattan Hotel, NYC

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Date Received: 2/13, 14, 15, 19/65

Received by: SA JOHN A. HAAG (Oral)

Original Location: [REDACTED]

Information obtained from informant was rough drafted by SA HAAG and reduced to typing by [REDACTED] on 2/24/65 and authenticated by informant on 3/10/65.

A copy of informant's report follows:

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - NY (100-128255) [REDACTED] (42)
1 - NY (100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY) (47)
1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (42)
1 - NY (100-117708) [REDACTED] (42)
1 - NY (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (46)
1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (42)
1 - NY (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (42)
1 - NY (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (42)
1 - NY (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (42)
1 - NY (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (42)
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (42)
1 - NY (100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (43)
1 - NY (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (42)
1 - NY (100-21431) (MARTIN YOUNG) (33)
1 - NY (100-44781) (CLARA COLON) (45)
1 - NY (100-140528-Sub I) (SANE) (41)
1 - NY (100-) (UNSUB WM HEAVY SET YOUTH) (42)

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First Day Session

2/19/65

The first session of an enlarged meeting of the CPUSA National Board was held on February 13, 1965 at the Manhattan Hotel in New York City.

Among Those present were:

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GUS HALL
HENRY WINSTON

[REDACTED]
MICKEY LIMA
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT (who left early)
JAMES TORMEY
BEN DOBBS
JOHN STANFORD
ARNOLD JOHNSON
GEORGE MEYERS
CARL WINTER
HELEN WINTER
MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]
JAMES JACKSON

[REDACTED]
JACK STACHEL
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
BETTY GANNETT
ROBERT THOMPSON
IRVING POTASH
PHIL BART
DOROTHY HEALEY
PAT TOOHEY
White male youth, heavy set.

It was revealed that GIL GREEN, ANTON KRCHMAREK and HY LUMER were ill and would not attend.

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HENRY WINSTON was chairman.

[] spoke of a three point agenda.

1. Detailed discussion of the mechanics and troubles of CP organization including dues, recruiting, etc.
2. The Viet Nam crisis.
3. The steel industry and the recent steel union election.

GUS HALL reported that the CP Secretariat has been studying the new existing opportunities for the CP. The Party must try to speak to the masses and emphasize mass struggles. Up to election day, the emphasis was on the defeat of the ultra-right but now must exert pressure on the Johnson Administration to change its course. HALL called JOHNSON's reaction to the longshoremen's strike a strike-breaking policy.

He said the CP must be a leader in the mass movement. He said the CP should have a convention in December and should set up committees for it now.

[] in the main report, said the CP must be rebuilt - finances and membership. Dues payments are irregular. The Party must initiate the struggle for all needs. The clubs have little contact with leadership. Many have no literature directors. The TU Commission should have a program concentrated in Mid West.

The Civil Rights Commission should build a Negro cadre and work with Negro youth.

A big effort must be made in education. CP should subsidize youth to concentrate in certain areas. He said this summer the Party should initiate a project of some 40 youths to be paid by the CP to concentrate their

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efforts in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, New York and "the South". The object being to develop "movements" locally and to recruit 500 new CP members in youth by the end of the summer 1965.

[] suggested an "assembly of the accused" in which all persons in the CP who have been cited in the courts will be assembled in one place to kick off a national campaign in behalf of the Party and themselves.

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MARTIN YOUNG, CLARA COLON and ARNOLD JOHNSON are to make up a committee to plan this campaign.

[] said a national convention of the CP should be held in December, 1965. It should not now be announced publically but committees should be formed to lay the groundwork. These committees should deal with:
1. A new Party program; 2. A trade union program; 3. A plan of work in the civil rights field; 4. Preparation of a document on problems of CP organization, recruiting, dues, etc.

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This was followed by numerous speakers who in general, agreed with [] report.

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GUS HALL then talked on the present Mc Carran Act case of the CP. He said that two persons have come forth to volunteer to register the CP under the Act. One was a Wall Street, New York lawyer and the other he believes is a CP "club official" from San Francisco. HALL recalled meeting the latter in a union hall in San Francisco a few years ago. HALL said this individual turned up at the office and HALL talked to him. After he introduced himself, this person said, "I am offering to register the Party under the Mc Carran Act". HALL said he "ducked the guy" but felt it was too late. He said that both of these persons will register the CP according to letters from the Department of Justice.

HALL disclosed that he also received notice that the Party's income tax case is coming up as is HALL's own registration case (part of the Mc Carran Act).

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HALL said the Party must fight this renewed harassment by the government.

Second Day Session

The Second Session the enlarged meeting of the CPUSA National Board was held on February 14, 1965 at the Hotel Manhattan.

The attendance at this session was the same as the February 13, 1965 session with the exception of the absence of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT who left, and the addition of GIL GREEN.

This session was chaired by PHIL BART.

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The discussion of [] report continued.

MICKEY LIMA spoke of success in youth work in the CP in San Francisco. He said there has been a great increase of youthful readers of the "People's World". He said the Sino-Soviet split, the Party's current legal situation and the Negro struggle must be overcome before the CP can go forward and function more efficiently.

DOROTHY HEALEY was critical of CP leadership for not giving a concrete approach to its problems. She said DANNY RUBIN lacked experience and said he should attend various club meetings to learn. She added that there is a need for a Party Convention.

THOMPSON stated that the main problem facing the CP was the lack of cadre. The party should study actual situations such as the Negro situation in Harlem.

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CARL WINTER said the CP must be rebuilt in such a way as to take part in the American mainstream in such fields as civil rights and youth.

GUS HALL called for a summer program to get 100 youth cadre. The CP must become an action party. To grow, the CP must become active in the electoral field.

At end of session, the following proposals were made:

1. Organize a youth project. Pay some 40 youths to work in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and "the South".
2. Organize an assembly of persons cited under the Mc Carran Act to initiate an all out campaign against Act.
3. Approve a national convention for December, 1965.
4. Examine the left coalition movement to draw together all left movements.
5. Establish a Trade Union Commission to set up plan to concentrate in certain industries.
6. Instruct Civil Rights Commission to establish points of concentration.
7. Re-establish the Party Affairs Bulletin.

All the above proposals were carried.

At the end of this session, GUS HALL reported on the expulsion of WILLIAM ALBERTSON, former New York District CP leader. HALL said all the facts were in and that

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two handwriting experts from New York, two from Chicago, one from Los Angeles as well as some from the Soviet Union, have viewed the letter in question and the conclusion was that only a 5% possible error existed. In other words, ALBERTSON had written the note. HALL felt there was nothing to talk about although doubts existed in the minds of some.

After some people present objected, especially IRVING POTASH, HALL said an investigating committee would meet that night to review all evidence and a conclusion would be made known.

Third Day Session

The Third Session of the enlarged CPUSA National Board meeting was held at the Hotel Manhattan, New York City, on February 15, 1965.

As far as could be ascertained the attendance at this session was the same as at the February 14, 1965 session.

The chairman was MICKEY LIMA.

ROBERT THOMPSON gave a report on Viet Nam which was incomplete, hard to follow and showed little preparation. He alleged that the United States was trying to change it from a ground war to an air war. He charged that the Viet Nam war was a prime example of American imperialism. He said limited wars can be won such as Cuba which shows the unity of the socialist countries against imperialism.

THOMPSON called for expressions from the peace movement and the trade unions against the Viet Nam war. The Party should organize activity to discuss the Viet Nam situation. He alleged that the bombing of North Viet Nam is an effort to put the United States in a better position for a negotiated peace.

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JAMES JACKSON urged the recall of General
MAXWELL TAYLOR.

ARNOLD JOHNSON said that SANE and other groups
are planning peace actions and that there is much feeling
in the United States against the war.

GIL GREEN championed the Chinese saying they
are not warmongers. He called for the withdrawal of all
United States troops.

WINTER, POTASH, WEINSTONE and others called for
the initiation of a literature campaign against the war to
convince the American people of the incorrectness of
President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam.

DATE: 3/24/65

Date received 2/25/65	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px;"></div>	Received by SA: <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:		Date of Report
Dictated	<u>2/25/65</u> ^{Date} to <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	2/25/65
Transcribed	<u>2/25/65</u>	Date(s) of activity
Authenticated by Informant	<u>3/5/65</u>	

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Brief description of activity or material	File where original is located if not attached
Info re membership in Henry Forbes Club, Lower Manhattan Area of CP.	Current <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>

Remarks:

- 1 - NY (100-106873) (41)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C42) (CP, USA-NY COUNTY) (45)
- ① - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA-NYD, MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1 - NY (100-81570)
- 1 - NY (100-86938)
- 1 - NY (100-68063)
- 1 - NY (100-139283)
- 1 - NY (100-81394)
- 1 - NY (100-93665) (45)
- 1 - NY (100-29136) (45)
- 1 - NY (100-139505) 5)
- 1 - NY (100-120215)
- 1 - NY (100-19786)
- 1 - NY (100-273) (45)
- 1 - NY (100-87233) (45)
- 1 - NY (100-66244)
- 1 - NY (100-98894)
- 1 - NY (100-54555) 5)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C2065) (45)

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PJL:rmp
(20)
WTR

100-80638-2153

Block Stamp


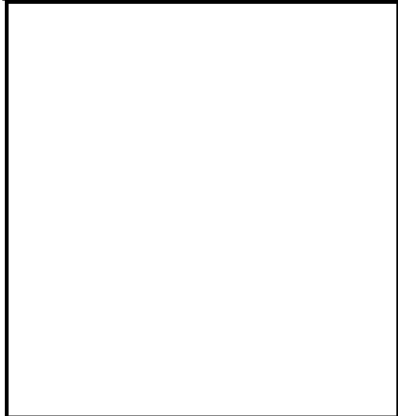
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MARCH 24, 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

NY 100-26603-C2065

2/25/65

The following individuals are the current active members of the Henry Forbes Club, Lower Manhattan Area of the CP:

 Chairman


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 is a member of this CP club; however, she only attends meetings occasionally.

The following individuals, having paid their dues in this CP club to July, 1964, have not attended recent meetings of this club apparently for personal reasons and/or pro-Chinese sympathies:



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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (61-867)

DATE: 3/15/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
SM - C

On February 19, 1965, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished to the writer oral information concerning a conversation held between CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and NATE SHARPE on February 18, 1964. This information was subsequently reduced to writing and signed by the informant. The original report is located in [REDACTED] and reads as follows:

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2 - New York (RM)

(1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)

(1 - 100-80638) (CP USA - MEMBERSHIP)

12 - Chicago

[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-18457) (RALPH TURNER)

(1 - 100-17828) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-22435) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-38191) (CP OF ILL. - HANSBOROUGH CLUB)

(1 - 100-18209) (CP OF ILL. - PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)

(1 - 100-18952) (CP OF ILL. - MEMBERSHIP)

(1 - 100-36677) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-35499) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-29708) [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-12890) (EARL DURHAM)

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RFB:mmf

(14)

100-80638-215-4

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 15 1965	
FBI - CHICAGO	

Water [Signature]

Jm

February 19, 1965
Chicago, Illinois

On February 18, 1965, it was learned that a conversation was held between CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and NATE SHARPE at LIGHTFOOT's residence, 9600 South Genoa Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. It was learned that SHARPE informed LIGHTFOOT that the Hansborough Club, CP of Illinois, expects to have between 50 and 75 non-Party people at the club's fund raising affair to be held February 27, 1965. LIGHTFOOT commented that he was very pleased to hear that such a large number of non-Party people will be present at this affair.

LIGHTFOOT questioned SHARPE as to whether he will be able to speak concerning his trip to Russia and he was told by SHARPE that he could. LIGHTFOOT stated that he would limit his talk to about 45 minutes and have a question and answer period following this.

LIGHTFOOT further mentioned to SHARPE that he was concerned about the Party's people in the industrial area because they have not been doing their share in building "The Worker." LIGHTFOOT told SHARPE that he should get on RALPH TURNER, [REDACTED] because none of these individuals have turned in any new subscriptions for the paper in the past year. He stated that the Party is very concerned

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about filling its quota and that we in Illinois want to get well over its quota of 400 subscriptions. LIGHTFOOT stated that he himself obtained two new subscriptions this past week.

LIGHTFOOT further stated that he wanted to bring up the question of Party membership in the Chicago area. He stated that there is no question about it, the Party is getting old in the sense that its members are getting well on in years. He stated that we are not building among the youth and this has to be corrected. He stated that he would like to see a number of small groups comprised of some non-Party people discuss the question of the Party. He stated that GUS HALL has done this in New York and has recruited 4 or 5 young people into the Party. LIGHTFOOT told SHARPE that he should contact [REDACTED]

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and between the three of them get a small group together. LIGHTFOOT stated that he would be willing to spend several hours discussing the Party with the non-Party people they assembled.

LIGHTFOOT also stated that he has been wondering about the possibilities of getting [REDACTED] back in the Party. LIGHTFOOT thought that possibly if [REDACTED] sat down

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with either EARL DURHAM or himself and the Party is
discussed frankly between them that [] might return
to the Party. SHARPE stated that he would be willing to
set up such an interview if LIGHTFOOT requests him to.

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4/30/65

Date received 4/14/65	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted]	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: <u>Date</u> Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant _____	Date of Report 4/10/65 Date(s) of activity 4/8/65
---	--

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Brief description of activity or material

Meeting of Lower Manhattan Area of CP
in NYC

[redacted] not attached

Remarks:

- [redacted]
- 1-100-26603-C2 (CPUSA-NY County) (45)
- 1-100-89955 [redacted] (5)
- 1-100-68063 [redacted]
- 1-100-81570 [redacted] (5)
- 1-100-10113 [redacted]
- 1-100-81394 [redacted]
- 1-100-146684 (WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE) (41)
- 1-100-128812 (CPUSA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
- 1-100-138948 (ESTC) (41)
- 1-100-128802 (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS) (42)
- 1-100-80638 (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1-100-26603-C2065 (CPUSA-LOWER MANHATTAN AREA) (45)

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100-80638-2156

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Searched.....Indexed...
Serialized.....Filed...
APR. 30, 1965
FBI-NEW YORK
Water

NY 100-26603-02065

April 10, 1965
N.Y. N.Y.

On April 8, 1965, there was a meeting of the lower Manhattan area of the Communist Party in the Apt. of [redacted] in NYC.

Attending:



(County leader)

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[redacted] gave a report on President JOHNSON's speech of April 7. She called it Demogogic. There was very little discussion on this. [redacted] said he was dissipated with the discussion and said he felt that the JOHNSON speech was the first step of an important breakthrough toward peace. He said this was not the same sort of speech that had been made several weeks ago. He said it showed that the President was yielding to the pressure of the peace groups. He said that the pressure must be stepped up. He urged that the peace walk for Sat. April 10, 1965, be well attended. He then criticized the East Side clubs for not doing anything toward peace such as visiting congressmen. It was decided that a street meeting should be held at Norfolk and Delancy St. on Thursday, April 15, 1965, and that speakers should be invited. The East Side Tenants Council should equipment is to be used on [redacted] station wagon.

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[redacted] also reported on a meeting he had with the youth club on the East Side. He said that the youth had criticized the East Side clubs because they had done nothing for youth. He said that youth had asked for a worker forum to be set up on the East Side but nothing had been done about it. He said that at the time it was asked for, it was brushed aside and youth was told to go ahead and set it up. [redacted] said he felt it was not the responsibility of youth but rather the East Side as a whole. He said the Harlem forum had brought in 4 new recruits so far. It was agreed that it should be discussed in the clubs and a place to hold such a forum be sought.

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**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF MARCH 31, 1965**

The following figures are set out according to states,
field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES

Alabama	2	Maine	0	Pennsylvania	117
Alaska	0	Maryland	37	Rhode Island	8
Arizona	14	Massachusetts	85	South Carolina	0
Arkansas	1	Michigan	180	South Dakota	5
California	854	Minnesota	158	Tennessee	0
Colorado	5	Mississippi	0	Texas	17
Connecticut	33	Missouri	42	Utah	15
Delaware	0	Montana	18	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	5	Nebraska	2	Virginia	5
Florida	27	Nevada	0	Washington	186
Georgia	4	New Hampshire	2	West Virginia	9
Hawaii	0	New Jersey	64	Wisconsin	102
Idaho	5	New Mexico	5	Wyoming	0
Illinois	303	New York	1,101		
Indiana	29	N. Carolina	2	<u>Total</u>	<u>3,693</u>
Iowa	3	N. Dakota	20		
Kansas	4	Ohio	155		
Kentucky	0	Oklahoma	9		
Louisiana	6	Oregon	52	Puerto Rico	12

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	10	Indianapolis	29	Oklahoma City	9
Albuquerque	5	Jackson	0	Omaha	5
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	0	Philadelphia	96
Atlanta	3	Kansas City	6	Phoenix	14
Baltimore	37	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	30
Birmingham	1	Las Vegas	0	Portland	52
Boston	95	Little Rock	1	Richmond	4
Buffalo	20	Los Angeles	575	St. Louis	40
Butte	23	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	15
Charlotte	2	Memphis	0	San Antonio	5
Chicago	303	Miami	24	San Diego	23
Cincinnati	11	Milwaukee	102	San Francisco	256
Cleveland	144	Minneapolis	183	Savannah	1
Dallas	7	Mobile	1	Seattle	186
Denver	5	Newark	64	Springfield	0
Detroit	180	New Haven	33	Tampa	3
El Paso	2	New Orleans	6	Washington Field	5
Honolulu	0	New York	1,073		
Houston	3	Norfolk	1	<u>Total</u>	<u>3,693</u>

San Juan *10-8068-215* 12
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JUN 1 1965

Waters J.W.

<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	33	Connecticut	33
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District	96	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	96 0
Illinois District	303	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only)	303 0
Indiana District	29	Indiana	29
Maryland-D. C. District (Listed Under Southern Region)			
Michigan District	180	Michigan	180
Minnesota-Dakota District	183	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	158 20 5
Missouri District	44	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	42 2 0
Montana District	18	Montana	18
New England District	97	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 0 2 85 8
New Jersey District	64	New Jersey	64
New York District	1,101	New York	1,101
Northern California District	264	California (North of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	264
Northwest District	191	Washington Idaho Alaska	186 5 0
Ohio District	158	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Section)	155 3

DISTRICTS - (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	10	Oklahoma	9
		Arkansas	1
Oregon District	52	Oregon	52
Southern California District	590	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Kern Counties)	590
Southern Region	103	Alabama	2
		Florida	27
		Georgia	4
		Kentucky	0
		Louisiana	6
		Mississippi	0
		South Carolina	0
		Tennessee	0
		Texas (Excluding 17 western counties)	15
		(Proposed but unconfirmed new enlarged Maryland- D. C. District)	
		Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia & North Carolina District	
		Maryland	37
		District of Columbia	5
		Virginia	5
		North Carolina	2
Utah District	15	Utah	15
Western Pennsylvania District	21	Pennsylvania (Western)	21
Wisconsin District	102	Wisconsin	102
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	39	Arizona	14
		Colorado	5
		Hawaii	0
		Iowa	3
		Kansas	2
		Nebraska	2
		Nevada	0
		New Mexico	5
		Texas (17 western counties)	2
		West Virginia (Exclusive of the four panhandle counties)	6
		Wyoming	0
<u>Total</u>	3,693	<u>Total</u>	3,693
TERRITORIAL POSSESSION	12	Puerto Rico	12

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>6/30/64</u>	<u>9/30/64</u>	<u>12/31/64</u>	<u>3/31/65</u>
Albany	11	12	11	10
Albuquerque	5	5	5	5
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	3	3	3	3
Baltimore	40	40	38	37
Birmingham	1	1	1	1
Boston	104	102	102	95
Buffalo	21	20	20	20
Butte	24	24	23	23
Charlotte	3	3	2	2
Chicago	335	331	334	303
Cincinnati	9	9	9	11
Cleveland	144	144	144	144 ✓
Dallas	7	7	7	7
Denver	5	5	5	5
Detroit	180	180	180	180 ✓
El Paso	2	2	2	2
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	3	3	3	3
Indianapolis	38	38	38	29
Jackson	--	0	0	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	6	6	6	6
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	1	1	1	1
Los Angeles	620	616	599	575
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	21	21	22	24
Milwaukee	102	102	102	102 ✓
Minneapolis	180	178	184	183 ✓
Mobile	1	1	1	1
Newark	74	67	64	64
New Haven	34	34	34	33 ✓
New Orleans	6	6	6	6
New York	1,407	1,401	1,385	1,073
Norfolk	1	1	1	1
Oklahoma City	9	9	9	9
Omaha	6	6	4	5
Philadelphia	105	103	99	96
Phoenix	19	19	19	14
Pittsburgh	25	24	24	30
Portland	61	62	52	52
Richmond	6	4	4	4
St. Louis	39	39	39	40
Salt Lake City	15	15	15	15
San Antonio	6	6	5	5

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (Con't)

	<u>6/30/64</u>	<u>9/30/64</u>	<u>12/31/64</u>	<u>3/31/65</u>
San Diego	31	31	23	23
San Francisco	284	264	259	256
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	202	195	192	186
Springfield	0	0	0	0
Tampa	0	0	2	3
Washington Field	7	6	6	5

<u>TOTALS</u>	4,204	4,147	4,085	3,693
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San Juan	12	12	12	12
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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

6/29/65

SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-242-Sub 1) (C)

✓
CP, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Re San Antonio letter to the Bureau dated 3/30/65.

On the best available information, there are an estimated 5 CP members or sympathizers who are suspected of being CP members in the territory covered by the San Antonio Division. Of these five, three of them can be positively identified as CP members. The other two are security informants who are active present CP members.

1. Total Number of Negroes Included in the Over-all Numerical Strength of the CP, USA in the San Antonio Territory 0
2. Name and Title of each Negro Included in this Total Who Maintains National Level Position 0
3. Name and Title of Each Negro Included in this Total who Maintains a District Level Position Above the Status of "Club Chairman" 0

The five individuals mentioned above are herewith tabulated by nationality, race, sex, employment, known veterans, and known union members:

Nationality:

American

5

2-Bureau (AM RM)

2-New York (100-CP, MEMBERSHIP) (AM RM)

1-San Antonio

JMK/dnb
(5)

100-80638-2157

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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Waters
at 42

SA 100-242-Sub 1

Race:

White 5

Sex:

Female: 1
Male: 4
Total 5

Known Veterans 2

Union Members 0

Employment:

Bookkeeper 2
Housewife 1
Salesmen 2
Total 5

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On 6/29/65, [redacted] advised that JOHN STANFORD continues as the main CP leader in San Antonio. He has been a CP member and leader in San Antonio from at least July, 1957, to the present time. He continues his efforts to strengthen the CP in this area. STANFORD has been a San Antonio representative on the State Committee of the CP of Texas from at least July, 1957. He has been Executive Secretary of the CP of Texas from at least February, 1958. In January, 1962, the State Committee and its offices were technically abolished; however, it was agreed that the committee and its officers would continue to function, and STANFORD has continued to do so to the present time.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41296)

DATE: 7/2/65

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CHICAGO YOUTH CLUB
CP OF ILLINOIS
IS - C

Informant [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past

Activity CP Youth Meeting

Date of Activity 4/28/65

Date of Report 4/29/65

Date Received 5/21/65

Recommendation None

Location [redacted]

- 5 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (RM)
 - 1 - 100-80638 CP, USA-Membership
 - 1 - 100-80644 CP, USA-Youth Matters
 - 1 - 100-80633 CP, USA-Education
 - 1 - 100-74560 CP, USA-Funds
- 1 - San Francisco (100- CP, USA-Youth Matters) (RM)
- 34- Chicago [redacted]

- 1 - 100-18957 CP, ILL. Dist.-Youth Matters
- 1 - 100-18953 CP, Ill. Dist.-Organization
- 1 - 100-18338 CP, Ill. Dist.-Education
- 1 - 100-17965 CP, Ill. Dist.-Brief
- 1 - 100-19491 CP, Ill. Dist.-Domestic Administration Issues
- 1 - 100-19431 CP, Ill. Dist.-Strategy in Industry
- 1 - 100-18209 CP, Ill. Dist.-Pamphlets & Pubs.
- 1 - 100-18952 CP, Ill. Dist.-Membership
- 1 - 100-14644 "The Worker"
- 1 - 100-17769 CP, Ill. Dist.-Funds

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100-80638-2159

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J

CG 100-41296

- 1 - 12424 Modern Book Store
- 1 - 100-18962 CP, ILL. Dist.-Security Measures
- 1 - 100-40865 DCA
- 1 - 100-41545
- 1 - 100-24800 LOU DISKIN
- 1 - 100-38624
- 1 - 100-40238
- 1 - 100-36677
- 1 - 100-35120
- 1 - 100-35940
- 1 - 100-38539
- 1 - 100-35925
- 1 - 100-40116
- 1 - 100-41442
- 1 - 100-35563
- 1 - 100-36467
- 1 - 100-40612
- 1 - 100-40591
- 1 - 100-12890 EARL (DURHAM)
- 1 - 100-17517 GUS HALL
- 1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
- 1 - 100-24846 HYMAN LUMER

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Chicago, Illinois
April 29, 1965

On April 28, 1965, at 8:00 PM, a closed meeting of Communist Party youth took place at the WAGNER residence, [redacted], Chicago, Illinois. Twelve individuals attended:

LOU DISKIN, CP Youth Supervisor

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] new member of a collective. brother of [redacted]

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During the course of the meeting, it was stated by members of the collective that three members were not in attendance, these three being [redacted] and [redacted]

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The agenda for this meeting was:

Educational - chaired by [redacted]
Summer Project discussion - led by [redacted] and
LOU DISKIN

A point was brought up by [redacted] involving her plan for future educationals. Because of the time factor and the amount of discussion needed for the Summer Project (the special reason for DISKIN's presence), [redacted] plan, and discussion of it, was postponed until the next meeting.

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The Educational was based upon the reading assignment of Chapter Seven, "The Fight for Jobs" from "Is Full Employment Possible?", by HYMAN LUMER. The discussion of the reading as led by [redacted] was rather limited and strained due to [redacted] ineptness and many members not having read the material. [redacted] attempted to keep to the area of his greatest familiarity - unions - however, many times his questions were incoherent. Seemingly there was no organization in his approach. The collective decided that the same educational would be taken up at the next meeting and agreed that everyone at this time would keep up with the assignment.

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DISKIN concluded that the members were not acting like Communists in view of their laxness and were not thinking like Communists in view of their discussion. However, it was agreed upon by the collective and DISKIN that the educationals are usually interesting and informative.

Discussion of the Summer Project was led by [] [] with background information, guidance and correction supplied by DISKIN. As explained, the CP plans this summer to nationally utilize its membership concentrating on youth in full-time work building the Party. This work, basically in strengthening the existing organization and increasing Party membership, will involve various types of assigned responsibilities which include in Chicago:

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1) One full-time Party organizer responsible for strengthening inner-Party membership communication, activation of present unproductive members, improving "Worker" - Party member communication, improving CP public relations by acting as a more or less spokesman for the Party, etc.

2) Full-time Party workers responsible basically for community organizing work devoted to increasing CP membership in existing collectives and establishing of new collectives. These full-time workers will be assigned specific areas of duty depending upon need, experience, etc.

Everyone engaged in Summer Project work is to participate in the training program in New York, consisting of two parts: an initial training period June 14-28, 1965, and a final training period concentrating more or less on analysis of work September 5-11, 1965. One person is to remain the whole summer in New York for work and training. All full-time workers are to have their expenses paid by the CP and receive a salary of \$30 a week.

DISKIN in discussing the Summer Project said the following:

Generally the history of the Communist struggle is the history of moving and pacing vital individuals in the strategic areas and that this is to be done this summer over the entire country, concentrating on every major location and many minor ones. In Chicago, aside from its own trained individuals, full-time workers will be coming from many places, for example, ten to twelve from New York and about six including one of the Hallinans from California.

Among the people devoting themselves to full-time work in Chicago will be himself (DISKIN) while KATHY takes over responsibilities for the book store.

The one full-time Party organizer for Chicago in DISKIN's opinion is to be one of the individuals coming in from New York and then possibly staying on indefinitely, the reason for this being the lack of experience at the present time of Chicago members and the open relationship of the organizer with the CP, thereby possibly jeopardizing present positions in other organizations if this official were a Chicago member.

The criteria in breaking down the various areas in Chicago for community organizing would be in the following manner: South, Near North, Far North and West Sides; however, there was difficulty in determining present contacts in these various areas, how to begin, where to place the visiting full-time workers, what types of workers with what abilities to request, etc. DISKIN said that he could think of many possible contacts on the South Side and especially the Near North side where a number of members from other collectives live. He thought it would be best, however, if he takes the matter up with the Board and reports back with concrete information at the next meeting of this collective. The Board, however, is not scheduled to meet in the near future, therefore, DISKIN said he would contact individual members of the Board.

Individual members of the collective were given until the next meeting to definitely decide if they could devote themselves to full-time summer work. At the present meeting they were asked if there was any possibility of such commitments. Those indicating a possibility included [redacted]

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Before the meeting terminated the matter of [redacted] membership in the collective was again raised. [redacted] reported that EARL who was supposed to have talked with [redacted] suggested not taking any action on expulsion and leaving the matter stand where it is, any possible forthcoming moves coming from [redacted] and thereby determining the next steps.

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The next meeting was set for Friday, May 7, 1965, 8:00 PM at [redacted] residence.

ADDENDUM:

The following is a continuation of remarks made by DISKIN:

"One mistake we made—we should have started a DuBois Club two years ago." There was a need for it. The youth are undergoing a resurgence of interest in the movement. As an example, at a plenum recently in New York when DISKIN visited there, he was astounded at the large number of youth, especially of minorities.

"Claude Lightfoot will be of great assistance in helping to make contacts on Chicago's South Side." GUS HALL in discussing the situation in Chicago said that "it had probably the greatest potential in the country--it must be developed."

The tightest security must be kept regarding information discussed here tonight. That "All that J. Edgar would need to know would be some of this". That "Image something like communists converging on Chicago."

July 8, 1965

[Redacted]

Albuquerque, N. Mex.

Dear [Redacted]

A serious letter on the subject you wrote us about is normally referred to me. When it came I was out-of-town for a couple of weeks working on our Summer Youth Project. It also took a little time to check with Lou D. in Chicago. Sorry to keep you waiting so long for a reply on so important a subject.

We accept your application and warmly welcome you. On receipt of 50¢ for initiation and July dues, all the formalities will be complete. Monthly dues is according to income. Unemployed and students 15¢, for income up to \$50 a month 50¢, for income from \$51-\$90 a month, \$1.00.

We are quite pleased with your approach, considering the fact that there is no club for you to be a member of at this time. You correctly reflect the fact that a lifetime-type commitment does not depend on the momentary inability to place you in a club where you would very directly and immediately feel collective aid from the organization.

When you get to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago or New York, you should look up the District leadership (N.Y., the National Office) so that closer ties can be established. Los Angeles has responsibility for New Mexico but has been unable to do anything for some time. Perhaps you can help them figure out the ways and means.

When writing to the National Office assume your mail is read by the wrong people. You may write me at my home, though this is not much better than at the office. I'd like to know whether you are living at home, by yourself or what, whether you are going to school, working or what, and whether you plan to stay in N.M. and for how long?

Comradely,

[Redacted]

Brooklyn N Y 11215

PS Your second letter just arrived. Gus never received an invitation from the University Student Council.

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XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

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b7C

SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-)

7/15/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80538)

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

On 7/13/65, [redacted] furnished the New York Office with a sheet of carbon paper which contained the letter to [redacted], Albuquerque, N. Mexico from [redacted] Organizational Secretary of the CP, USA, a copy of which is attached hereto.

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According to [redacted] this letter is an open letter accepting the membership of [redacted] into the CP, USA.

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It is noted in paragraph four, [redacted] stated that "Los Angeles has responsibility for New Mexico".

Since only two copies of this letter were made, extreme care should be used in the dissemination of the information therein.

Also enclosed to Albuquerque is the original carbon form which attached letter was printed.

- 2 - Albuquerque (100-) (Encls. 2)(RM)
(1 - 100-) [redacted]
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-) (CP, USA ORG.)(Encl. 1)(RM)
- [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-80538)(42)

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JAM:zsp
(5)

100-80638-216

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
75	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

[Handwritten initials]

~~CP~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7/29/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement dated July 20-21, 1965, containing information orally furnished on July 20-21, 1965, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA [redacted] This information was reduced to writing on July 26, 1965, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9243. b6
b7c

Also enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York is one copy each of the following two documents which are mentioned herein as subjects of discussion. The draft outline of the new Party program discussed herein has been previously furnished to the Bureau. Copies are retained in the 1-A exhibit of the appropriate subsections of the CP, USA file in the Chicago Office:

- 1) "An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question" prepared by JAMES JACKSON;
- 2) "Outline for a Draft Labor-Policy Resolution" prepared by CARL WINTER.

CG 5824-S* advised that there was a wide difference of opinions expressed by participants at the National Board meeting.

WAB:MDW
(see page ii for dissemination)

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100-80638-2162

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JUL 30 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Water

CG 100-33741

Copies:

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (Washington Summer Action Project)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
 - (1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Maryland District - Organization)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted] (ph)
 - (1 - 100-20779 (CP, New England District - Organization)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (IRVING GOFF)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New York State - Organization)
- 5 - Cleveland (RM)
 - (1 - 100-1207 (PHIL BART)
 - (1 - 100-17257 (CP, Ohio District - Organization)
 - (1 - 100-17262 (CP, Ohio District - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Ohio District - Membership)
 - (1 - 100- (W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
 - (1 - 100-8482 [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-2050 (CP, Michigan District - Organization)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 - (1 - 100-26044 (CP, Southern California District - Organization)
- 3 - Newark (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New Jersey District - Organization)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New Jersey District - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New Jersey District - Education)
- 47 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)
 - (1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
 - (1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
 - (1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100-80633 (CP, USA - Education)
 - (1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)
 - (1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
 - (1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)
 - (1 - 100-9369 (TED BASSETT)
 - (1 - 100-25623 (ERIC BERT)

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(see page iii for additional dissemination)

CG 100-33741

- 47 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM) (Con't.)
- (1 - 100- (CLARA COLON)
 - (1 - 100-56 (MIKE DAVIDOW)
 - (1 - 100-93665 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
 - (1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
 - (1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
 - (1 - 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS)
 - (1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
 - (1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
 - (1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER)
 - (1 - 100-13204 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
 - (1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
 - (1 - 100-128255 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)
 - (1 - 100-15946 (JIM TORMEY)
 - (1 - 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
 - (1 - 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
 - (1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
 - (1 - 100-27539 (CARL WINTER)
 - (1 - 100- (HELEN WINTER)
 - (1 - 100-141170 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-141914 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Brief)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Farm Matters)
 - (1 - 100- (World Peace Council, Helsinki, Finland, 7/65)
 - (1 - 100- (Women Strike for Peace)
 - (1 - 100- (SANE)
 - (1 - 100- (Hall-Davis Defense Committee)
 - (1 - 100- (Emergency Civil Liberties Committee)
 - (1 - 100- (ACPFB)
 - (1 - 100- (Teach-In, New York, 9/17/65)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
- (1 - 100- (MARIAN (LNU), Negro female from Philadelphia)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Eastern Pennsylvania District-Organization)
- 5 - San Francisco (RM)
- (1 - 65-1242 (MICKEY LIMA)
 - (1 - 61-415 (AL RICHMOND)
 - (1 - 100-27747 (CP, Northern California District-Organization)
 - (1 - 100- (W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America)
 - (1 - 100- (Welfare Rights Organization)

WAB:MDW

(see page iv for additional dissemination)

CG 100-33741

- 4 - WFO (RM)
 (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
 (1 - 100-44434 (Washington Summer Action Project)
 (1 - 100- (Women for Peace)
 (1 - 100- (Washington Action - Politics for Peace)
- 16 - Chicago
 (1 - A)134-46-9243)
 (1 - 100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)
 (1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
 (1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
 (1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]
 (1 - 100-41324 (CIRM)
 (1 - 100-41353 (Ad Hoc Committee)
 (1 - 100-19431 (CP, Illinois District - Strategy in Industry)
 (1 - 100-17506 [REDACTED]
 (1 - 100-40903 (SDS)
 (1 - 100-34435 (SANE)
 (1 - 100-39136 (Women for Peace)
 (1 - 100-19491 (CP, Illinois District - Domestic Administration Issues)
 (1 - 100-34438 (CP, Illinois District - Mass Organizations)
 (1 - 100-42044 (Washington Summer Action Project)

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WAB:MDW
(95)

CG 100-33741

He expressed the opinion that they will be fighting about the contents of the Party program for months to come. Of course, this first rough draft of the program was not adopted nor were any other reports adopted on those matters having to do with the Party's position such as the reports on labor and the Negro situation. The documents (Party program and the documents enclosed herewith) will serve as the basis for discussion to enlarge the program and/or become resolutions at the time of the Party's convention, still planned for the end of this year.

The basic arguments are related to the role of the working class in the American class struggle, and this includes the trade unions and the role of the Party. The differences are between GUS HALL and his followers and GIL GREEN, BOB THOMPSON, DOROTHY HEALEY, and some others.

There was also a fight on the interpretation by BOB THOMPSON in his report on Vietnam in which he stated that there is a "new pattern" in relations in the international communist movement. THOMPSON stated that at the Helsinki Peace Conference the Chinese had voted with the rest, including the Russians, for the final resolution on Vietnam. This was in contradiction to the report delivered by HERBERT APTHEKER on the Helsinki Peace Conference. According to APTHEKER, THOMPSON's statement was not true; the Chinese merely did not vote against the resolution but did not vote for it. APTHEKER's report did not indicate any fundamental change in the relations as intimated by THOMPSON.

This report by THOMPSON was late in the day and was merely to be informational and so there was no discussion of it at the meeting. CG 5824-S* stated that in a private talk with HALL he learned that at a meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat early the next morning THOMPSON had been challenged on this subject. CG 5824-S* asked HALL how he had answered THOMPSON. HALL replied, "I took his pants off and I will do some more of it later this month."

July 20-21, 1965

A meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), plus a number of invited guests, was held from July 16-19, 1965, at the Park-Sheraton Hotel, West 56th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. Among those observed in attendance were the following who, unless it is noted to the contrary, were present at all sessions:

HERBERT APTHEKER	July 17, 1965, only
PHIL BART	Not observed July 19, 1965
TED BASSETT	July 17, 1965, only
ERIC BERT	
MORRIS CHILDS	
CLARA COLON	July 19, 1965, only
MIKE DAVIDOW	
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	Not observed July 19, 1965
EARL DURHAM	July 17 and morning session of July 18, 1965, only
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 20px;"></div>	July 19, 1965, only
BETTY GANNETT	July 16 and July 17, 1965, only
IRVING GOFF	
GIL GREEN	
GUS HALL	
DOROTHY HEALEY	

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[Redacted]

JIM JACKSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON

MICKEY LIMA

HY LUMER

GEORGE MEYERS

[Redacted]

BILL PATTERSON

IRVING POTASH

AL RICHMOND

[Redacted]

JACK STACHEL

[Redacted]

BOB THOMPSON

JIM TORMEY

LOU WEINSTOCK

WILL WEINSTONE

[Redacted]

HENRY WINSTON

HELEN WINTER

July 19, 1965, only

Not observed July 18,
1965

Not observed July 19,
1965

Afternoon session of
July 18 and July 19,
1965, only

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July 18, 1965, only

MARIAN (last name
unknown)

A Negro female from
Philadelphia; not
observed July 16, 1965

First Session, Friday, July 16, 1965

The Chairman of the first session, which was held on July 16, 1965, was PHIL BART. He announced the proposed agenda for discussion (which was not strictly adhered to) as follows:

- 1) Rough outline of the Party program;
- 2) An outline for a trade union resolution;
- 3) The Negro struggles;
- 4) Struggle against poverty;
- 5) Vietnam developments;
- 6) The McCarran Act;
- 7) Youth and the "Summer Project."

GUS HALL was the first speaker who introduced the discussion of the rough outline of the new Party program which had been previously sent to the districts. HALL indicated that he would begin by touching upon some questions of approach and manner of discussion of the program outline and then continued as follows:

This is the most difficult task of the Party in recent times and it will take a lot of Marxist intelligence to get this finished. The discussion will constitute a test of our leadership. This can be the process which will show the growth of the Party leadership and establish our leadership on a new plateau, or it can become a block to the development of the Party.

Naturally, as of now, there is no collective, unified position concerning this subject. Naturally, there will be differences--we should not panic just because there are some differences. This is not unusual and we must not let it get out of hand. Therefore, we need a responsible type of discussion both for each individual and for the collective. We should avoid subjectivity and unwarranted "inferences." There must be no private campaign for a particular position. This discussion must be in a highly intelligent manner without bickering or invective.

We will be discussing new areas and, therefore, there can be no advanced positions. Basing myself upon my experience within the Secretariat when this matter was discussed, I can say that it is possible that this discussion can get "hot." Let me emphasize that ideas are better than invectives. As of now, we have little experience in regard to this type or style of discussion. When we achieve a new "method of debate" then we can raise our leadership to a new level and achieve an excellent Party program.

By way of background about the program, let me comment as follows: There was a small subcommittee of five persons set up by the Secretariat to work on this project. The entire committee worked on this, but AL RICHMOND did most of the writing with the help of GIL GREEN. Some of the rest also participated. This "outline" is not a real draft of a program. It is not even a draft of positions. It is really a list of subjects upon which a program must be developed. It is not a political resolution. We will have and have now some resolutions. It is not a "political commentary of the times" as LENIN once said. The aim is to achieve a programmatic statement of the CP, USA. But this program is not just for our inner use; it is offered to the masses of the people and gives the reasons for the existence of the CP, USA. We should answer the question of a need for the CP in the United States to achieve these aims of the people.

This program must reflect the need for the Party and show the new developments in the world and class relations or changes in the United States. The program must reflect the basic ideological and political pillars upon which the Party rests. It must also reflect the position of other groups, but mainly it must show the unique communist position. The program must reflect our scientific concepts of society. We must show that these are the laws of social development that give a direction to the classes and class relations--this is fundamental and scientific.

From that understanding of the flow of society come our strategic concepts. We must show the inability of capitalism to solve social problems and that the capitalist society should not just be replaced by "another society" but by a "socialist society." This must be no mechanical concept of these social laws but rather a dialectical analysis. We take into account human factors in society and we take into account the new times. This separates us from other socialist groups such as the Socialist Labor Party, the Trotskyists, etc. They have a mechanical approach but we take a dialectical approach in regard to these laws and, therefore, we have a flexible tactical approach.

Next, is the consideration of the basic pillars of society and our position regarding classes. The root of the problem in the world movement is related to this problem and is also a challenge in the United States. The program therefore cannot be anything but firm regarding class relations and the working class as the pillar of society. We are the champions of the working class, its role, its problems, etc. When we do this we have a framework and can discuss the weaknesses and the strengths of the working class. We are not critics from the "outside" like the liberals.

On this fundamental basis we can be critical (not sweeping criticism) of trade union leadership. We must take pride in the achievements of our working class. The program must show the solution of the world situation and the results of automation. We must show the role of the working class as a part of the achievements of this country; that is, as fruits of mass struggles. In this way the working class stands in its proper perspective.

Our anti-monopoly development is a development of "struggle" against monopoly. Our program must give answers to those who are the victims of monopoly capitalism. In the struggle for democracy, economic well-being, Negro rights, etc., all are joined in this struggle even if it is the working class which leads in this fight. Socialism will be served by a multi- or all-class struggle against monopoly capitalism.

In this sense, there is a close relationship between socialism and anti-colonialism. The program should have some assessment of the "Left" and how it has developed in the trade unions, the peace movement, the civil rights movement, etc. The program should reflect the struggle for civil rights with special relation to the classes as an oppressed people and its relationship to the working class in its struggle for jobs,

political action, and democracy. In other words, it should picture the total relationship.

In regard to socialism in the United States, the program must give some outlook on how socialism will look in the United States. We need to be more detailed and concrete in regard to the question of peaceful transition. We will seek the most peaceful path possible, even if we can't give guarantees. This "seeking" applies to all mass struggles such as strikes, etc. We must convince the people that we will not seek violence.

We must find an answer concerning the negative developments or effects of socialist countries in the more industrialized countries. Socialism developed first in backward countries and also those with the least democratic backgrounds or traditions. An example is its development in "feudal" Russia. There should be no unnecessary criticism of existing socialist countries. We should place these differences rather in a positive way such as how we can improve our democracy and how socialism can do this in the United States.

It must be made clear that the democratic institutions in the United States were not developed by capitalism but rather were developed despite capitalism. The fact is that capitalism is reactionary. We must clarify our position on the role of bourgeois democracy. In regard to the role of United States imperialism and the right of self-determination, we must remember the reality in today's world that one-third of the world is socialist. We must show that the policy of peaceful coexistence is in the interest of our people.

The program writing commission has made several proposals: 1) that we organize the discussion, and 2) that we simultaneously complete writing the draft. If we do not do this, we will be working on it for twenty years. We should write on those things on which we agree.

I would suggest that we set up five commissions to work concretely on some areas and to state a Party position: 1) The working class, its role, status, etc.; 2) the "Left," its nature, etc.; 3) the correlation between socialism and ideology; 4) the nature of the United States Gov't.; 5) the perspective in the civil rights struggle.

"Drafting and talking" is the aim. We also recommend that we start publishing articles on the program. "Political Affairs" should set up a special section in the magazine for this and also set up a pre-convention bulletin.

Again, how we conduct this discussion is most important-- it can be valuable or harmful. We should bear in mind that this will not be an official programmatic statement of CP, USA policy until it is adopted as such at a CP, USA convention which we still hope can be held before the end of this year. We hope that the draft of the proposed program can be completed in September and published during the Fall.

This ended HALL's opening comments.

In the discussion that followed, ERIC BERT indicated that he believed there were some areas where the rough outline is deficient. He believed it is deficient in the discussion on capitalism and on the role of the working class. He also expressed himself as against any conception that there is an "absolute democracy" someplace. According to BERT, this is unreal and is like HEGEL's "idea" concept. BERT suggested that the program should give a more specific attitude in regard to small business and a positive programmatic attitude on the farmer.

JIM WEST suggested that GUS HALL's remarks should be prepared as an article to be published to open the discussion on the program.

[redacted] then remarked that there were two areas in the draft program which he believed needed further treatment. These areas were: 1) the American path to socialism, and 2) the role of the Party. On the question of a "Party of socialism," [redacted] contended that the program must state whether it is a CP based on Marxism-Leninism or a broader Party still based on Marxism-Leninism.

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The next speaker in the discussion was JIM JACKSON who stated that he wished to associate himself with the statement that this rough outline is just the beginning of the writing of a program. He also agreed with HALL's remarks that this discussion can be an ideological "refueling" or renewal of the Party. JACKSON continued: As GUS has indicated, the primary and key problem to be assessed is the proposition that the working class is the main force for the social revolution. We have to

establish who is the working class and we must keep in mind the structural changes of the working class. HARRINGTON puts the poor in a non-class category. This deprecation of the working class only helps to confuse and helps the bourgeoisie. Democracy in the United States is only a mere formality--as practiced in the United States, it is actually brutal.

[redacted] next spoke as follows: Our program should spell out the material gains of socialism: abundance for everybody. We'd better have a "blueprint" or we will be considered evasive. In regard to the question of small businesses, in my opinion, there is no reason why we should have a mixed economy. Furthermore, we must state categorically that we will eliminate racial discrimination. Furthermore, we should have some statement on the role of people's organizations such as trade unions in socialism.

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The next speaker was DOROTHY HEALEY who commented on the role of the working class. She indicated that even if they are participating as workers, nonetheless they are also participating as individuals. She indicated there is a lack of "class participation." She stated that the trade unions which are made up of workers are not the most advanced on the question of peace, etc. HEALEY polemicized against HALL's statements on the role of the working class and quoted LENIN on the bourgeoisification of the working class.

HY LUMER then entered the discussion: The central question is that of the class struggle and the anti-monopoly struggle. It must be made clear that the working class are "the grave diggers" of capitalism. There appears to be some confusion in regard to the multi-class struggle that has democratic aims and the class struggle for socialism. The working class plays its special role even within a coalition. More attention should be paid to monopoly capital and the role of the state so that it is clear that the state is an organ of the ruling monopolists.

AL RICHMOND then commented as follows: I don't know how I was suckered into the writing of the outline in the first place. Of course, the natural reaction would be to answer these objections and say you missed this point under section so and so on line this and that. But the outline has served its purpose. We are just beginning to discuss the program and the core of the problem which is the working class. The ideological struggle within the working class goes on and on.

GEORGE MEYERS then made the following remarks: There seems to be some confusion concerning classes and class relations. There is talk about the poor and the middle class but there is never talk about the working class. Also, we must erase the division between white and blue collar workers--they are all wage earners. Furthermore, I contend that the Negroes are "a people," not just a part of the working class as some are preaching.

BOB THOMPSON then remarked: The class struggle is the essence. But there is a struggle within the working class. The problem for years ahead will be the fight for peace against the aggressions and reactionary trend of the ruling class.

GIL GREEN then made the following comments: On the whole, while the discussion has been positive, nevertheless, it is "rough" on the rough draft. A lot more discussion is necessary. I recall that back in the 1930's we won the intellectual struggle and we called the shots. Although many people started out in hostility toward us, since life vindicated the communist outlook, they grudgingly agreed that we were correct. We must keep our eyes on reality and life and our eyes on the masses. We cannot lead by proposing generalities. But, at the same time, unless we want to write an encyclopedia, we cannot include everything. We must unite on the basis of the realities of today and how we are to progress to the next stages. In my view, these stages are liberal reform, radical reform, and still later social reform.

We have to give a lot of thought to the invasions of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Were these mistakes of individuals in the ruling class or did we expect this to happen? Where did we miss or make a mistake? I am of the opinion that we will not move out of this stage that we are in and avoid a nuclear war unless we can move labor. I cannot see the present situation as just another "new deal" which had another foreign policy. Today, the United States sees a challenge in the sweep of the anti-colonial revolution and its relation to socialism. As more revolutions occur in Latin America, the ruling class will react. But we cannot agree with the position of the "Monthly Review" that it is socialism vs reaction and war. We must give thought to how we can prevent new Vietnams.

The anti-monopoly struggle means that the main fire must be directed against the industrial-military complex. We must explain that you can't do anything against poverty or for

the Negro people if billions of dollars are being spent for war. We have a problem of how to move ahead and yet we cannot avoid the questions posed by the independents. We should not be put into the position of being the independents vs the mainstream. I believe it would be a mistake if we placed the struggle for democracy outside the struggle for socialism.

IRVING POTASH then made some comments: In general, I am in agreement with GUS HALL's introduction. I believe that the weakest thing in the rough draft is the failure to explain our relation to the working class. After all, this is a working class Party. Some comrades fall into the morass of the liberals who write off the working class and see a new "mythical" class as leaders.

HENRY WINSTON made a few brief comments: We are closer to writing a program than ever before. I agree that it would be useful to publish GUS HALL's remarks as an introduction for the discussion. Let us not forget that no matter what we speak about, we must never forget that we do it as a Marxist-Leninist Party.

GUS HALL then made some concluding remarks: I believe that a summary would be out of order in this discussion since this is the first survey and participation of this Board. I am very pleased with this discussion and believe that it could not have been more concrete. I have only a few remarks. On the question of "independence" and the "mainstream," I believe that our position should be both: "Independence within the mainstream." There is one general idea that I would like to put forward concerning concepts. Be on guard against watering down basic concepts and inadvertently watering down such things as the fight for democracy; or narrowing the struggle for peace to a struggle against imperialism; or narrowing down the struggle against imperialism to the struggle for socialism.

What further is there to do? I think we can set up more committees such as one on the farm question and one on youth. We should ask two or three of the top youth to formulate a position on youth. Before the end of this meeting, we will designate some commissions and I would like volunteers for some of these commissions.

This ended the first session.

Second Session, Saturday, July 17, 1965

The Chairman of the second session, which was held on July 17, 1965, at the same location, was MICKEY LIMA.

The first speaker was IRVING POTASH who began the discussion concerning the "Outline for a Draft Labor-Policy Resolution." POTASH stated as follows:

While this is only an "outline" on trade unions, nevertheless, there has been a lot of discussion on it. We have also talked to many trade unionists about its contents. Although CARL WINTER, who prepared this outline, is absent, I am sure he would not consider it as the "last word." Actually, there should be an accompanying legislative resolution, but I doubt this separate resolution idea will work out.

There are "stirrings" in the trade union movement. We must realize that it takes more to move workers than students. There is a groping to find the expression of the rank and file. There has been an increase in wildcat strikes, deep dissatisfaction with automation, and "settlement" of strikes. The workers want more than attrition agreements--they want future care.

We can note that the recent steel and IUE elections are reflections of dissatisfaction of workers with conditions in the industry and shops and, of course, they blame the leadership. There are voices of dissatisfaction in some of the trade unions in regard to the Vietnam and Dominican Republic policies of the United States Government. Do not underestimate the speeches of some of the leaders like MEANY and others on the peace issue, especially after the MEANY and DUBINSKY endorsement of government policies. There are deep grumblings in basic industry about hard work, the speed-up, and intensive exploitation. Although the men need the overtime money, they find it hard to keep going physically. Also, the feeling of insecurity is ever present because of the workers' increasing debt.

We should be aware of the significant differentiations between leaders and groups of unions. We can't just classify the CIO as "progressive" and the craft unions as "reactionary" because it just is not so. Even in the unions of skilled worker there are some unskilled. This is true in steel, electrical, auto, etc. We must take note of these differentiations and work out our program accordingly. There are some disagreements.

Not everyone agrees about these differentiations or that they can be utilized. Some do not consider these "differences" or as serious enough. I consider these differences as serious and to have inherent possibilities to move workers. Some people see only the positive side and fear that our criticism would negate our influence upon the workers. But we do need to criticize. MEANY and DUBINSKY, who are tools of CIA, should be criticized. The workers in the ILGWU suffer because of DUBINSKY's submission to the big boss and government. We must criticize these leaders and show their neglect of the workers' needs. Even some of the left publications treat these people, such as DUBINSKY, as "sacred cows." But the matter of how to criticize is important; there should be no vendetta; it must be serious criticism. We must disagree and criticize without repelling the rank and file or creating obstacles that would divide the Left and progressives.

Another point of disagreement is on Left or rank and file forms. Some say there is no need for these. I say that we need these forms to unite the Left and center on important problems such as automation, trade union democracy, etc. Of course, there is the danger of lapsing into factionalism, but this still does not do away with the need for alliances.

Some want a "national center" to give expression to the sentiments of the rank and file and the left. This is not a simple matter. We need to give this more careful thought. As we prepare for our convention, we should give thought to all of these ideas. We should give special thought to the idea expressed by Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING on the repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act and an alliance to organize the South. That is a pivotal question.

The outline of the resolution leaves out the question of socialism. We cannot leave this out. We are appealing to the workers as a CP. This ended POTASH's presentation.

LOU WEINSTOCK then commented that he agreed with most of what POTASH had to say but stated there was a need to spell out such things as "Jim Crow" contracts. He also indicated that they should not skip the ideas expressed in the article by SIDNEY LENS in "The Nation" on MEANY and LOVESTONE and the CIA. He thought there should be mention of the legality of communists in trade unions as a result of the victory expressed by the Supreme Court decision on ARCHIE BROWN.

GIL GREEN was the next speaker in the discussion. This resolution contains many good things. But, it is like a department store. It has many counters and the reader must find what he wants. There is no line in the resolution. The following points should be made:

- 1) The working class is basic for a revolution.
- 2) Trade unions are the basic organization of the working class.
- 3) There can be no political change in the United States without the trade unions.
- 4) The labor movement does not play this role; it is full of contradictions and many workers are still unorganized.
- 5) Communists should not be separated from trade unionism.

To bring about a change in trade unions is the ideological work of the CP but this should be done from the bottom up and not from the top down. The concentration should be upon youth and upon organizing the unorganized.

After comments by several others, GUS HALL made the following comments: This is in many ways the most important resolution in preparation for the convention. We must give this work the status it requires in the CP. I agree with most of what has been said here but there are a few things that do bother me and that is how some of these problems were placed. The overall posture of the Party on labor has not been good. We must dispel the era of criticism and cynical criticism of the trade union movement in America. The attitude is an "ivory tower" attitude instead of saying this is "our working class." We never did evaluate the "misleaders of labor" approach. GEORGE MORRIS is the chief offender. It is a fact that the liberal and left movement are criticizing the trade unions. What have we done to answer the attack on the working class and its organization? We act as if we are "neutral" instead of using the class approach. It appears that some people think it is a crime to draw some positive things from the trade union movement.

The struggle against the ultra-right is a glorious page in the struggle of the trade union movement. Should we not take this positive pride and build on it? The ultra-right

wants to take over whole cities and states but labor has defeated them. We must get rid of this cynical approach of the liberals and the ultra-left. As to the question of Negro workers only acting like Negroes rather than in accordance with class needs--this is the wrong estimate of Negroes who are a part of a class. They are not mere "nationalists"; they are workers.

On the question of the ideological struggle within the working class--to even state this question is a step forward. But this problem is still often presented with the indication that the outcome is in doubt. The statement has been made that "trade union leadership is betraying the working class." But must we not ask is it not only a part of the leadership who are betrayers? The trade union leadership is not only MEANY. There are tens of thousands of trade union leaders. We must cut out this blanket condemnation of labor leadership and we must see the objective class role of the labor movement.

Too little about the working class appears in our press. When the rest of the paper is measured in the light of GEORGE MORRIS' column, it gives a distorted picture of our views.

About the political role of the trade union movement--it is not enough to say that objective conditions lead to a petty bourgeois ideology of workers.

What about the subjective struggle for ideology? There are objective conditions that make it possible for the working class to play its historic role.

After comments by several others, BOB THOMPSON stated that in his opinion the outline is not even a basis for resolution although the labor policy should be the central point in the Party program. The question of war and peace is the main thing and it is missing in the outline. He asked "Where is the fight against the intervention and war in Vietnam?"

During the ensuing discussion, AL RICHMOND indicated that he agreed with THOMPSON that the central point is the nature of United States imperialism and its war making.

Following some additional discussion, JIM JACKSON commented as follows: If we hold that we can force or influence a change in the national administration policy in regard to Vietnam, then it follows that we can change the

policies of trade union leaders such as MEANY, DUBINSKY, etc. As a matter of fact, we did change them in the past on the subject of Jim Crow. We must answer the concept of anti-ideology which is against all ideologies. This must be countered by a working class ideology which is Marxism-Leninism. We must come to grips with the question of how to align the struggle of Negroes for equality alongside the working class movement. White chauvinism remains even if it takes on more sophisticated forms.

IRVING POTASH then commented: This outline was thrown into this meeting with the discussion. We originally agreed that there were two major points to be stressed: peace and organization of the unorganized. POTASH then rebuked DOROTHY HEALEY and others who underestimate the working class; characterized that approach as liberalism, in a Marxist outlook. He also rebuked GIL GREEN on his negative approach to white collar workers.

At the conclusion of this discussion on the trade unions, the outline was referred back to the Secretariat to prepare a draft resolution. It was also decided to replace CARL WINTER in the preparation of this resolution in view of his absence on other matters.

At this point, HENRY WINSTON commented on the Negro resolution entitled, "An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question" which had been prepared by JAMES JACKSON and stated that it would be discussed at a later date although it was on the agenda for this meeting. He suggested that the districts send in their comments on this draft.

Also at the second session a report was delivered by HERBERT APTHEKER who had just returned from Helsinki, Finland, where he had attended the Congress of the World Peace Council. He had also attended a meeting of the communist delegates to the Conference which was held a few days prior to the Peace Conference. HERBERT APTHEKER made the following comments:

The Congress was held on July 10-15, 1965, in Helsinki, Finland, in an enormous hall. I might note that the CP in Finland has 38 members in their parliament.

Prior to the Peace Conference, there was a meeting of delegates from 21 CPs.

At the Peace Congress preparatory meeting the Chinese CP, with the aid of the Albanian CP, did everything possible to destroy the Congress and the Council altogether. When the

Chinese lost in their endeavors in the preparatory meeting, they wanted to conduct a filibuster against the holding of the Congress and they fought bitterly. When the South Vietnamese delegation had not as yet arrived during the first day's session of the preparatory meeting, the CP of China charged the Soviet Union with the responsibility for the absence of the South Vietnamese. The North Vietnam delegation defended the Soviet Union with the explanation that the Finnish Government rather than the Soviet Union was responsible for the temporary absence of the South Vietnam delegation at the first session. According to the North Vietnam delegation, the delay was due to the fact that the South Vietnamese did not have the necessary visas. Furthermore, the South Vietnam delegation was then en route to the meeting and would arrive in time for the second day's session.

The Helsinki Peace Conference was an outstanding success. The proceedings were highlighted by an address by the President of Finland, URHO KEKKONEN, and an address by the Premier of Finland. They both stressed peaceful coexistence. The Conference was attended by 1,450 delegates from 98 countries. The only country which did not send a delegation was Ireland. There were representatives from 18 international delegations; delegates from 14 African countries; 23 from Asia; and, 20 from Latin America. There were 96 persons from the United States. There were 1,200 men and 250 women. Forty-one of those in attendance were clergy. There were 15 ministers of state.

The speech for the United States delegation was delivered by CARLETON GOODLETT. All 96 United States delegates agreed on this speech and there was a tremendous ovation when he was finished. His speech, which was about the peace movement in the United States, had a line which the Chinese did not like. The ovation lasted for ten minutes and as a result even the Chinese stood up. In regard to the United States delegation, it was the most fully representative delegation since World War II. It included 22 women and representatives from the Quakers, Students for a Democratic Society, the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America, and SANE. There were not many CP members in the United States delegation.

There was some struggle on the resolutions of the Peace Conference. With respect to the resolution on Vietnam, the Chinese wanted one that sounded like a call to battle, like a war college plan. They wanted an attack on the United States as fascist, etc. However, the Chinese were defeated.

The difference between the Chinese and Vietnamese attitudes on the resolution was noteworthy. Whereas the Chinese were stubborn in their insistence on a resolution as suggested by them, the Vietnamese quickly removed from their suggested resolution belligerent language to which objection has been made.

While there was a general resolution on Vietnam, there was also a resolution on disarmament, the vestiges of war-like attitudes in Germany, etc. The resolution on peace, as officially adopted at the Conference, was not a "bloody one" and the Vietnamese were quite happy with it. The Chinese did not vote against the general peace resolution. Only the British abstained from voting because they look upon the World Peace Council as an "albatross." The British had a rather negative estimate of the Congress and there was also some of that samespirit among the Italians.

In regard to the United States delegation, the vote for the Vietnamese resolution was 59 for, 9 against, with 15 abstentions. The representatives from the Women Strike for Peace were there only as "observers" but they did vote for the resolution on implementation of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement.

The Helsinki Conference would not have been the success it was had it not been for the United States participation. Throughout the Congress feelings toward the United States peace movement were very warm. United States delegates were sought out by everyone, even by the Chinese. Of course, the role of the communist delegates was indispensable. It was most important that communists be present and honestly represented.

This was the end of APTHEKER's report.

Third Session, Sunday, July 18, 1965

[] was the Chairman of the third session which was held on July 18, 1965, at the same location.

The first speaker was HY LUMER who presented a report on the recent CP, USA "Summer Project" which was held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey.

LUMEN commented as follows: The Summer Project was the most important development in the Party in many years. It was a tremendous accomplishment. It was more than a school, it was an unprecedented school even in its size. Never before have we had this number which was 75. Bringing together such a large number also had a qualitative impact, not just because of the number but because these were young people of high caliber and very serious. We can be very proud of this accomplishment. The effect of the school was to create a sense of confidence in the Party and in its future. There is a great contrast between this situation and the situation in 1958 when we first started to gather the youth. The presence of these young people give lie to the press who have been stating that we are a Party of old people. Youth is finding itself on the way into the CP. The New York press is silent on this school and this is significant because the press who lied about the CP is exposed and embarrassed.

This project brought together Party leaders and youth. Those who came to the school feeling cynical about the Party leadership changed their minds. In addition, the "old" learned also. The students got a better understanding of the Party and the theoretical need for a CP. All who participated in the school were inspired. The committee which organized this school worked very hard and the teaching staff involved a good number of other people in Party leadership as teachers. Some of the students acted as teachers.

There were two sections in the school: civil rights and mass policy school. The organization of the school was based upon proposals from the youth commission and though limited served as a guide. In addition to regular classes, there were also lectures such as JAMES JACKSON on socialism; GUS HALL on socialist morality; CARL WINTER on trade unions; and Jack Stachel on Party history. . There were some very important achievements since the school was based upon the students' desire and not upon compulsion.

The Party started somewhat late to organize this project. It was accomplished, but the hurried work showed itself in such areas as the study outlines and the organization of teachers. Another weakness was in the composition of the school: 9 from Southern California; 11 from Northern California;

3 from Oregon; 4 from Washington; 2 from Minnesota; 3 from Illinois; 4 from Michigan; 1 from Western Pennsylvania; 4 from Massachusetts; 2 from New Jersey; 18 from New York; 9 from Philadelphia; 3 from Connecticut.

There was a geographical weakness in that the Middle West should have had the largest representation. New York also should have had more. The districts did not do a serious job of mobilizing for this school. There was also some failures in communication between the districts and the national office; therefore, the national office also is to blame. There were only six Negro students and this is a serious weakness. There were too few working youth but were mainly student youth. This reflects a weakness in the composition of the young membership. Some in the districts thought this mammoth operation was not real and, therefore, they did not work too hard in the mobilization.

There were some weaknesses in the school itself. For example, there was not enough theory and there were not enough practical problems. In the future, we should do better. But from this school there are some lessons for the future. We will need more workshops and we should also give some advanced readings to the students before they come to the school. There should be a longer time for preparations and in the future we will allow six months.

The youth have now been sent out to the various cities and they have been assigned to various Party projects, particularly the formation of Du Bois Clubs. Now, it is up to the Party to follow through with respect to youth leadership training. Teacher training institutions should be set up and some of the lectures should be put in printed form as pamphlets. This will take months. Also, we are preparing an elementary textbook on Marxism-Leninism based in the United States. This was the end of LUMER's report.

The next speaker in the discussion was PHIL BART who commented upon the youth follow-up summer program in Ohio. He stated that their aim is to establish a youth organization in the district but that at the beginning of the summer there were only two youths in the Cleveland Party. There was also a need to establish a Du Bois Club in Cleveland. When these young people from the summer project came in they established relations with the Students for a Democratic Society and met with no conflict. They have now established a center in the Negro community of Cleveland. A reception was held to greet

the three youths who came to Cleveland which reception was also aimed at establishing the Du Bois Club in Cleveland. Seventy young people attended this meeting. These three are working full time and the expectation is that six more youths will be recruited into the Party as a result of their efforts.

MICKEY LIMA then delivered a report on the Party role in the war on poverty. He commented as follows: The poor in the urban area can be brought into political motion against the power structure. It is also a fact that racist practices compound this poverty situation. The CP can be rebuilt on the basis of work among the poor--Negro, Puerto Rican, white, Mexican, etc.--among the urban poor. We can do in this sphere what we did and are doing among the youth.

The Du Bois Clubs are acting as a service organization among the unemployed. There are now thirty Du Bois people working among these unemployed, giving answers and solving problems. There have been other organizations in the fight on poverty. For example, the Labor Committee for Full Employment; the Committee on Housing (ARCHIE BROWN's committee); and, the Welfare Rights Organization. The first two have been dissolved because of activities of the ultra-left but the Welfare Rights Organization has 400 members. This can be started any place where they have the same problems. There is also Youth for Jobs which is in need for more adult cadres. The Ad Hoc Committee composed mainly of students was involved in the fight for jobs. As a result of their activities, 1,500 jobs opened up for Negro workers. This organization has now been dismantled as a result of an inner-leadership fight.

The Party must concentrate its attention and efforts on the war on poverty. There must be mass action and the Party cannot afford to take a negative attitude. The setting up of organizations to work in this area is still necessary, but these organizations must produce or they will be without effect. Old age is another arena in which the Party should become active. Demonstrative forms are still needed in trade unions and among the unemployed. There is a crisis in the cities as a result of urban renewal, etc., which can be exploited. Local defense organizations should be formed to bail out those Party people who as a result of their activities in the war on poverty might be jailed. Hundreds are being arrested as a result of such activities.

Despite weaknesses, we can rebuild the Party. There is resistance to rebuilding the Party but this can be done. After all, what are we in business for? The youth are doing the job because they are willing to talk to people, they work with them, and they are not held back by any preconceived idea of "difficulties." These students are getting results. If we do not build the Party, we will wear ourselves out.

After some discussion, GUS HALL made the following remarks: Originally, it was planned to invite those who are active in the war on poverty to this meeting, but it was then decided to use MICKEY LIMA's report instead. We are moving into a new economic phase characterized by a slowing down of the expansion of industry. This will have an explosive economic effect on the United States and will give a different meaning to the war on poverty. As the economic situation worsens, we will move from a "consensus" to a class struggle in the war on poverty. That is why the CP should formulate overall general economic demands. I don't believe we should worry too much about organizational forms--some organizations "go" and some organizations "go on."

We will work in all organizations. Also, we must use the clause in Title II of the war on poverty law in which the government allows money for the organization of the unemployed or the organization of the poor for jobs. While we did not believe it possible when the law was first enacted, some authorities are interpreting the law literally. Just remember that if an organization solves problems, people will join it.

HALL then made the following proposals:

1) That CP districts hold conferences on the poverty question made up of people who are in this work or who will join.

2) That a national conference on this be held in Chicago in October, 1965. This will include some CP leaders but mainly people involved in this work; i.e., the fight for jobs and the war on poverty.

3) That a popular pamphlet on poverty be prepared by an active person in this organization.

HALL continued: On recruiting into the CP, the youth have shown great boldness. At first I thought they were naive, but the youth have been successful in recruiting. In Ohio they

have shown that it can be done and they have even set a quota of six by August.

MICKEY LIMA then remarked: Recruiting is a big problem. Last year we did not even have students and the few we had were making no headway. Today, the situation is different. A great difference has been made as a result of the ARCHIE BROWN case and the new victories for officers in trade unions. We must vigorously tackle the problem of recruiting.

Following this discussion, the following proposals were made and carried:

- 1) In each district a conference on the war on poverty will be held to plan Party participation.
- 2) A national Party conference on the same subject will be held in Chicago in October, 1965.
- 3) LIMA's report at this meeting will be printed and disseminated to all districts.
- 4) The CP, USA Secretariat will prepare a newsletter to be disseminated to all districts to analyze the Party's work in mass organizations and provide an exchange of opinions and experiences between the districts as to how the Party can operate most successfully in mass organizations, particularly those engaged in the war on poverty.
- 5) A popular pamphlet should be issued on the war on poverty and this proposal was referred to the Literature Committee.
- 6) The September, 1965, issue of "Political Affairs" will concentrate on the poverty question.
- 7) A campaign will be pushed for MICKEY LIMA's book on poverty.
- 8) Special attention will be given to the Party's recruitment program in connection with the above-mentioned activities.

The next report was delivered by BOB THOMPSON on the subject of Vietnam based upon his recent travels and discussions abroad. In essence, this report was as follows:

The basis for these remarks is the content of meetings held recently with our Vietnamese comrades from both North and South Vietnam. Meetings were also held with Italian and British CP delegations who had traveled to Vietnam.

It should be understood that there is only one Party in Vietnam although there are distinct political organizations. In North and South Vietnam this is a highly developed Party, which was developed during the war against Japanese and French colonialists and now the war against the United States and its puppets, the Saigon regime. This Party has always been a mass Party, a leader of the people. They have developed a wide cadre.

This is an independent Party which is dedicated to its own people, its own country, and to Marxism-Leninism. While there are certain points of similarity of their position with the position of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the influence of the CPC can be explained by the fact of the reality of the proximity and size of China. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese Party does think independently, a fact which was amply demonstrated at the recent World Peace Congress in Helsinki, Finland.

Now, the obstructionism of the Chinese at the World Peace Congress is not new, but what is new is that the Chinese delegation voted for two resolutions along with the delegation of the Soviet Union. The pressure of the world communist movement and the influence of the Vietnamese comrades helped to bring this about and has now opened a new pattern in the relations of the Chinese and the rest of the world communist movement. Therefore, the fight for unity of action of the world movement has become more possible, even if the ideological problems are as yet unsolved. For example, the problem of the transit of supporting materials through China to Vietnam has now been solved to a greater degree than in the past.

Various divergencies can be observed between the positions of the Vietnamese and the Chinese; for example, their different positions on "modern revisionism," but there are also some similarities. An example is their joint adherence to the doctrine that men are superior to military technology, given a revolutionary situation. This grows out of their experience in national liberation movements. The Vietnamese have learned to fight against helicopters and aerial bombing and they believe they will win and are winning the war. But they also realize that the United States forces are holding

enclaves within South Vietnam and if the United States brings in enormous quantities of war material and are backed up by the United States fleet, the Vietnamese will not be able to push them into the sea. Nevertheless, they hold to their conviction that they will win. They are aware of the fact that the danger does exist that the war could become a nuclear war. So long as the war in Vietnam is considered in light of a "local" war, it makes sense; but as the war is related to world problems and nuclear war, it cannot be pursued in the present manner.

The National Liberation Front operates over four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam in which area they exercise either complete or partial authority. Even during the midst of this war the National Liberation Front has brought about a rise in agricultural production and living standards. They have also developed a scattered light industry. Through the organization of an educational system, they have even lowered the illiteracy rate. The National Liberation Front is actually a full-fledged national operation in the areas of industry, agriculture, education, etc. This fact constitutes their appeal to the people of Vietnam, not reliance upon propaganda leaflets, etc. The people of Vietnam know this.

In respect to the National Liberation Front Army, it is still essentially a national liberation army. In some instances they do operate on a divisional or regimental level. The Vietnamese comrades do not deny that some South Vietnamese are trained in the North and then go back to the South to fight; but up to now, according to the Vietnamese comrades, there are no armies of North Vietnam fighting in the South. While they do have a high level of strategic planning in areas such as the central regions of South Vietnam, their execution of plans is still similar to that of a partisan army or guerrillas. They now have four or five support troops for each guerrilla fighter which is like an engineer and service corps. Their intelligence service is also highly sophisticated and they boast that "nothing moves in South Vietnam that we do not know about."

The South Vietnamese comrades' estimate of the military situation is that they are very far advanced in winning this war. The Saigon government is finished and cannot be rebuilt after the loss of four-fifths of the territory and the breakdown of their morale. They realize that the United States is sending in more troops but they claim that the French had 700,000 troops and were defeated by inferior guerrilla bands. Now, the Vietnamese have better fighters.

The Vietnamese expect that the United States involvement will increase and so will the bombings in North Vietnam. However, beyond the enclaves on the coast, the United States cannot revive Saigon. They characterize the bombing attacks on North Vietnam as brutal and savage and although well planned in this sense they have not as yet hurt Vietnam. However, if the City of Hanoi is bombed, this will change the qualitative character of the war. In that event, their response would be expressed in commitment of reserves, new armies, new weapons, etc.

The Vietnamese want aid from all the socialist world including both the Soviet Union and China, but they will make the decision as to how the war will be conducted. They want to avoid the use of their country as a testing ground for new weapons and they do not want millions of Chinese or other volunteers in Vietnam. If they have not yet used new weapons against the United States, it is because they wish to avoid provocations. They are "not shooting their mouths off" but they have plans for fighting the war in their own way. At this time they are holding back powerful reserves but if necessary they will fight this war on the ground; as yet they are not accepting the United States challenge in the air. If necessary, they can use forces from Laos and other countries and will get aid from North Korea. They realize that the United States has resisted escalation of the war because the North Vietnam reserves have not yet been committed.

The maneuverings of the United States to bring about a negotiated settlement has created some problems for the Vietnamese, but they are depending upon world forces to show the urgency of the situation, stop the escalation, and then they will be in a better position to create a better basis for negotiations on the basis of the Geneva Agreement. Although the Vietnamese recognize the new changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union, it is my estimate that they do not see fully the dangers of the world situation. However, the Vietnamese are not in a hurry and are remaining flexible, watching for opportunities to force the United States to the conference table.

The world struggle within the communist movement is reflected in the war in Vietnam. There have been some basic changes in the approach of the Soviet leadership. The Soviet Union has mobilized complete support for Vietnam. In Italy and France there has developed a powerful movement that will influence the actions of their governments. This is taking place in Great Britain also. However, in a number of the socialist countries there is a real doubt that the United States truly wants peaceful coexistence.

Fourth Session, Monday, July 19, 1965

GEORGE MEYERS was the Chairman of the fourth session which was held on July 19, 1965, at the same location.

The first speaker was ARNOLD JOHNSON who delivered a report on the struggle for peace and the Party's position in regard to Vietnam. JOHNSON stated as follows:

The escalation of the war in Vietnam has separated President JOHNSON from the people of the country and brought him closer to the view of BARRY GOLDWATER and the reactionary Republicans. He has lost the support of the people in his own Party and of world public opinion. The wave of protest is really expressive of United States opinion. Peace advocates in this country have also gained from the actions of peace forces in other countries.

President JOHNSON is now admitting that the United States is taking over the war in Vietnam and is committing United States troops for ground action. Secretary of State DEAN RUSK's "no sanctuary" statement is a trial balloon to test the American people. The attitude of the Administration is "how far can we get by with" as far as the American people are concerned. In point of fact, there is no Saigon Government nor South Vietnam Army. Although President KENNEDY said that the Vietnamese will fight the war, the fact is that the United States is doing it.

There is a struggle going on in the higher circles of United States Government. Some wanted Governor HARRIMAN to go to the USSR to speak to Soviet officials, and some did not. After his talk with Premier KOSYGIN, they left it up to a clerk to analyze this talk. This is vulgar and is not even diplomacy.

There has been some talk about the fact that CARLETON GOODLETT has had an entre to the White House. Let us not make too much of this. There are others who have entre to the White House and the State Department, like Dr. SPOCK and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The questions of importance are: how to end the war and stop future aggression; how to give expression to the peace sentiments of the American people; how to utilize the anti-imperialist sentiment of the people. We must use every opportunity and keep in mind that there are various groupings, such as the Quakers, SANE, and others, who have their own plans for peace.

When MAXWELL TAYLOR came back from Vietnam the last time, he gave a talk to some Wall Street tycoons and ran into some sharp disagreements. Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's speeches indicate that there are some differences on United States policies in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and on nuclear policies. We must see these things despite the build-up for escalation. There is a continued opposition to Administration policies from the people, the press, radio, and television. We must give credit to Women Strike for Peace and their delegation to Helsinki and Indonesia.

In this country there is a constant activity for peace even though it has its ups and downs. We must record the recent Madison Square Garden meeting as a success despite the efforts to sabotage it.

Now, on the matter of actions ahead. A massive teach-in and a 50,000 mass delegation to Washington by SANE was withdrawn because of some inner struggles. They have substituted smaller demonstrations August 7th at the White House and August 9th at the Washington Monument. This involves SNCC, the Du Bois Clubs, etc. The combination of the peace movement and the civil rights movement is very important. They are still fighting over this because SANE does not want sit-ins. The conflict is continuing and thus it may not materialize as a big mass action of 50,000 people. It may now be a limited action of a few thousand.

SANE will have a meeting in the garment district in New York City on August 6th and on the week end Women Strike for Peace will have a demonstration at the World's Fair. This is the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. In all cities there will be some action on that week end.

In regard to our decision in organizing anti-imperialist sentiment, we must admit that this has not been accomplished. But there are such centers being created by others. This is not in contradiction to the broader peace movement. We must take a look at ourselves in this activity. Our literature has been dominant, especially at the Madison Square Garden meeting. There the main distribution was of "The Worker," VICTOR PERLO's pamphlet, BETTY GANNETT's pamphlet, GUS HALL's pamphlet, and other Party leaflets.

There have been distributed 10,000 copies of BETTY GANNETT's pamphlet and 13,000 of VICTOR PERLO's pamphlet. There also is a new pamphlet on the Dominican Republic coming out. We

have taken 5,000 copies of a reprint of "The Nation" article on LOVESTONE and the CIA which was reprinted at our request.

A mass peace march on Washington is being considered to encompass 50,000 students, Women for Peace, SANE adherents, etc., for late September or in October. It is planned that they will have as many people in the picket of the White House and the Pentagon as there are additional United States troops sent to Vietnam. The effort will be to combine the peace movement and the civil rights movement in these demonstrations.

In the discussion that followed JOHNSON's report, JIM WEST commented as follows: In his speech in Austin, Texas, March 7, 1965, Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING spoke about the identity of interests between the peace interests of the people and civil rights. He spoke not in abstraction but in a concrete way. The present Administration has taken seriously Dr. KING's and the Christian leadership meeting at Danville, Virginia. President JOHNSON telephoned some of the civil rights leaders like WILKINS, YOUNG, etc., to repudiate this fight of the civil rights movement to end the war in Vietnam. Some of the leaders were intimidated, but this movement will spread.

Following some additional discussion, GUS HALL made the following comments: I will reemphasize the overall problem of the great danger that prevails in Vietnam. This situation shows that the "world war madmen" still can escalate the war. It is an act of desperation. Defense Secretary MC NAMARA's trip to Vietnam is solely to provoke and escalate the situation; but as the 1966 elections approach, the forces opposed, including the masses as well as the world of business and finance, will grow and act. The opposition of the KENNEDYS to the current policy is no accident. President JOHN KENNEDY sent JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH to Vietnam, but he was not able to complete his analysis of the situation which actually was contrary to the analysis of the CIA and the Pentagon. This movement is growing as witnessed by the statements of Senator MORSE and Senator CHURCH. It reflects a deep split in the ranks of United States monopoly-capital, although the problem of the war is still grave.

There has been opposition to this war expressed on various levels. It is shown in the anti-imperialist actions and the militant actions of youth as demonstrated by sit-ins. We should support these militant actions but we must influence them not to oppose the broader actions of others. There will be a Washington Action - Politics for Peace. This will be a two-day dialogue on peace and civil rights. This may be the

beginning of unity of action of these two movements. RUSS NIXON is pushing for representation of the "radical left." Dr. KING has not yet agreed to speak as he is waiting to see what will be the nature of the actions. In New York they will exclude communists.

At the moment a letter to President JOHNSON is being circulated by Democrats opposing his Vietnam policy. We should get behind this and support it. In August there will be a meeting or conference in Santa Barbara with the participation of Congressmen to work out a plan of action to change United States policy.

Following some additional discussion, ARNOLD JOHNSON made the following proposals:

- 1) That every district review its work and organize its participation in the upcoming peace demonstrations.
- 2) That the Party organize support for the Washington meeting on the scale needed.
- 3) That constant attention be given to this subject and that the Party establish "anti-imperialist centers."
- 4) That the Party give attention to issuing mass literature to publicize the demonstrations and insure Party participation.

The next item was a report by GIL GREEN on the McCarran Law and the CP. He stated as follows:

The situation on the question of the semi-legal status of the Party and its effect upon recruiting is worse for workers than it is for students. But as ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN used to say, "We must watch that the Party does not accommodate itself to the McCarran Law." We must get rid of the "McCarran shackles." McCarranism has become institutionalized for the last two decades. The AFL-CIO at one time indicated its opposition to this law but it has not now re-endorsed its position in favor of its repeal. This country is tired of the witch hunt and this is true especially among the youth. This was amply demonstrated in Chicago during the recent HUAC hearings.

We must also regard the fact that there have been some victories. CP members now can travel. We have the right to receive mail from other countries. There was the victory of

ARCHIE BROWN. This was tremendously important. There was the decision of the Supreme Court to accept jurisdiction on membership cases of the Party in the case of PROCTOR and ALBERTSON. We should also keep in mind the decisions of the courts on the "front groups." Also, there have been no new HUAC contempt cases--not yet. There also has been the action of some youth organizations in refusing to screen communists out of their organizations and the same is true in SNCC.

This war in Vietnam presents a different situation than did the Korean War. Today, even those who agree with United States policy do not question as to who is the aggressor. They know that the United States is on the wrong moral side. The enemy is clearly seen--the United States is the aggressor. Of course, at the time of the Korean War the United States had a monopoly of the bomb. Today, people fear a nuclear war because of the monopoly has been broken.

We cannot take this new climate for granted--things can be worse. New attacks will begin against the youth organizations like the Du Bois Clubs and others. There is no real fight for freedom on the campus which is tied to the fight against the McCarran Act.

The CP, USA membership case will be heard in October and the Party trial on two indictments is also set for October. Our objective is to mount a campaign to come to a head at the time of the trial of the Party. An active campaign must be initiated to fight for the Party's right to appear on the ballot and to abolish the HUAC.

The Party must fight for itself and yet there is no danger of it turning into a "defense organization." The experience of the Hall-Davis Defense Committee shows that we are neglecting this organization. That Committee raised \$44,000 in its first year, but only \$22,000 the next year and much less this year. We can also judge this neglect by its leadership--while we gave to ELIZABETH FLYNN the services of JIM TORMEY to work on this and also BILL PATTERSON, the Party as such has neglected it. Besides, PATTERSON was away for sometime and should once again become involved.

There are 43 membership cases plus the GUS HALL case and yet there are only two local committees, those in Oregon and Los Angeles. Funds are not being raised and the financial situation is critical. Funds are needed for briefs before the Supreme Court and for the legal expenses of the coming trial. Fortunately, the first advertisement in the press brought gratifying results.

Our own press is not dealing with this fight on the McCarran Law. This, however, will be corrected. It will begin with personal sketches of the defendants. I would propose the establishment of speaker bureaus in the various states. A mass mailing of material is going to start. Only in California are we reaching the public; the other districts are lagging. For your information, ROSCOE PROCTOR, BILL PATTERSON, DOROTHY HEALEY, and GUS HALL are available to speak to meetings. A campaign should start immediately to drop the indictment against GUS HALL. There should be a fund-raising affair in all cities where there are people who have been cited. At the time of the trial we must fill the courtroom and mass picket lines, etc.

There is going to be a national effort. On September 17, 1965, there will be a teach-in and on September 18, 1965, a "solve-in" in New York City called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The Party must help mobilize others to attend and help this project. The National Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will hold a separate conference on the same week end. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has allocated \$3,000 for the conference but not one cent for fares or expenses of people to attend the meeting.

GIL GREEN then made the following proposals which were passed:

- 1) A mobilization of Party forces against the McCarran Act.
- 2) The establishment of a CP, USA speakers bureau.
- 3) The issuance of mass material.
- 4) The working up of a movement in support of the September 17-18, 1965, conference.

After some further discussion, GIL GREEN made some further comments:

He noted that there are some legal questions that need to be hammered out. He characterized the Party's lawyers as too tame and conservative. He said they take a too narrow "legal" approach and do not see the politics involved.

A motion was made and carried to accept GIL GREEN's report.

Discussion on the program was referred to the Secretariat.

At the conclusion of the meeting a number of committees were set up which would meet on July 20, 1965, at the CP, USA National Office. The following committees would meet during the morning of July 20, 1965:

Program Committee (this is a nucleus and others will be added later)

GUS HALL
CARL WINTER
HY LUMER
BOB THOMPSON
GIL GREEN
AL RICHMOND

[REDACTED]
HERBERT APTHEKER
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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b7C

Farm Committee

GEORGE MEYERS
ERIC BERT
LEM HARRIS

Youth Committee

[REDACTED]
MICKEY LIMA

b6
b7C

The following committees would meet at 1:30 p.m., July 20, 1965, at CP, USA national headquarters:

Working Class and Trade Union

IRVING POTASH
IRVING GOFF
JIM TORMEY
DOROTHY HEALEY
BOB THOMPSON
GIL GREEN

(CARL WINTER is a member of this Committee but will be absent.)

Left and Left Unity

JACK STACHEL
WILL WEINSTONE

[REDACTED]

Correlation of Democracy

PHIL BART
ARNOLD JOHNSON
BETTY GANNETT

[REDACTED]

State Monopoly-Capitalism

HY LUMER
ERIC BERT
MIKE DAVIDOW

Perspective of the Civil Rights Movement

HENRY WINSTON

[REDACTED]

BILL PATTERSON

After the above designations, the meeting of the
National Board of the CP, USA and invited guests adjourned.

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Date received 8/6/65	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px;"></div>	Received by SA <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person
 by telephone
 by mail
 orally
 recording device
 written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date
Dictated 8/9/65 to JMS
Transcribed 8/9/65
Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

8/6/65

Date(s) of activity

July, 1965

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b7D

Brief description of activity or material

Membership of CP Club in Tampa and
CP contacts

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

Dissemination of this info must be paraphrased to avoid compromising this valuable source.

5 - New York

- 1 - 100-131666 CP Southern Region
- 1 - 100-128255
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 97-169 PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS
- 1 - 100- CP MEMBERSHIP

18 - Tampa

- 1 - 100-149 CP Southern Region
- 1 - 97- PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-

**FLO:JMS
(25)**

Tampa (continued)

- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-

- 2 - Miami
- 1 - 100-800 CP

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b7C
b7D

Block Stamp

100-80638-2/103

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
AUG 16 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters
J. Waters
ATTA

Miami, Florida
August 6, 1965

According to [redacted] Organization Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), on July 28, 1965 the following individuals are members of a CP Club in the Tampa area:

[redacted]
Tampa, Fla. 33604
Phone 988-1702

[redacted]
Tampa, Fla.

[redacted]
Tampa, Fla. 33604
Phone 988-1702

[redacted]

[redacted]
Tampa, Fla.

[redacted]
Tampa, Fla. 33605

[redacted]

[redacted]

(same as [redacted])

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This CP Club was formed by [redacted] formerly of Tampa and now in New York City, when he was in the Tampa area sometime back. [redacted] is Chairman of this club. The mail contact is [redacted] Street, A-13, Tampa, Florida, 33610. The designation "for [redacted]" should be written inside the envelope of mail sent to [redacted]

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The following individuals, according to [redacted] are the "closest contacts" around the CP people:

[redacted]
Tampa
Phone [redacted]

[redacted]
Tampa, Fla. 33607
Phone [redacted]

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[redacted]

Clearwater, Fla.
Phone [redacted]

[redacted]

Tampa, Fla.

[redacted] advised the following are "also contacts":

[redacted]

Clearwater, Fla.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Clearwater, Fla.

Phone [redacted]

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[redacted]

Petersburg, Virginia.

[redacted] also advised that THE WORKER uses the above names and that the order was recently increased from 10 to 20 papers.

TO: SAC,

- Albany
- Albuquerque
- Anchorage
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Birmingham
- Boston
- Buffalo
- Butte
- Charlotte
- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Cleveland
- Dallas
- Denver
- Detroit
- El Paso
- Honolulu

- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jackson
- Jacksonville
- Kansas City
- Knoxville
- Las Vegas
- Little Rock
- Los Angeles
- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
- New Haven
- New Orleans

- New York City
- Norfolk
- Oklahoma City
- Omaha
- Philadelphia
- Phoenix
- Pittsburgh
- Portland
- Richmond
- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- San Juan
- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield

- Tampa
- Washington Field
- Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- Bern
- Bonn
- Buenos Aires
- London
- Manila
- Mexico, D.F.
- Ottawa
- Paris
- Rome
- Rio de Janeiro
- Tokyo

Date 8/20/65

RE: **COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

For information Retention optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

100-80638-2164

SEARCHED _____ *INDEXED* _____
SERIALIZED _____ *FILED* _____
 AUG 23 1965
 NEW YORK

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Enc. **1**
Bufile **100-3-68**
Urfile

**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF JUNE 30, 1965**

The following figures are set out according to states,
field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES

Alabama	2	Maine	0	Pennsylvania	115
Alaska	0	Maryland	36	Rhode Island	7
Arizona	15	Massachusetts	84	South Carolina	0
Arkansas	1	Michigan	180	South Dakota	5
California	852	Minnesota	157	Tennessee	0
Colorado	10	Mississippi	0	Texas	17
Connecticut	33	Missouri	42	Utah	15
Delaware	0	Montana	18	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	5	Nebraska	1	Virginia	5
Florida	29	Nevada	0	Washington	186
Georgia	3	New Hampshire	2	West Virginia	9
Hawaii	0	New Jersey	65	Wisconsin	100
Idaho	5	New Mexico	5	Wyoming	0
Illinois	308	New York	1,131		
Indiana	28	N. Carolina	1	<u>Total</u>	3,665
Iowa	3	N. Dakota	20		
Kansas	4	Ohio	97		
Kentucky	0	Oklahoma	9		
Louisiana	6	Oregon	52	Puerto Rico	12

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Aibany	10	Indianapolis	28	Oklahoma City	9
Albuquerque	5	Jackson	0	Omaha	4
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	0	Philadelphia	95
Atlanta	2	Kansas City	6	Phoenix	15
Baltimore	36	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	29
Birmingham	1	Las Vegas	0	Portland	52
Boston	93	Little Rock	1	Richmond	4
Buffalo	20	Los Angeles	571	St. Louis	40
Butte	23	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	15
Charlotte	1	Memphis	0	San Antonio	5
Chicago	308	Miami	27	San Diego	23
Cincinnati	11	Milwaukee	100	San Francisco	258
Cleveland	86	Minneapolis	182	Savannah	1
Dallas	6	Mobile	1	Seattle	186
Denver	10	Newark	65	Springfield	0
Detroit	180	New Haven	33	Tampa	2
El Paso	3	New Orleans	6	Washington Field	5
Honolulu	0	New York	1,103		
Houston	3	Norfolk	1	<u>Total</u>	3,665
				San Juan	12

<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	33	Connecticut	33
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District	95	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	95 0
Illinois District	308	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only)	308 0
Indiana District	28	Indiana	28
Maryland-D. C. District (Listed Under Southern Region)			
Michigan District	180	Michigan	180
Minnesota-Dakota District	182	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	157 20 5
Missouri District	44	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	42 2 0
Montana District	18	Montana	18
New England District	95	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 0 2 84 7
New Jersey District	65	New Jersey	65
New York District	1,131	New York	1,131
Northern California District	266	California (North of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	266
Northwest District	191	Washington Idaho Alaska	186 5 0
Ohio District	100	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Section)	97 3

DISTRICTS - (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	10	Oklahoma	9
		Arkansas	1
Oregon District	52	Oregon	52
Southern California District	586	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Kern Counties)	586
Southern Region	101	Alabama	2
		Florida	29
		Georgia	3
		Kentucky	0
		Louisiana	6
		Mississippi	0
		South Carolina	0
		Tennessee	0
		Texas (Excluding 17 western counties)	14
		(Proposed but unconfirmed new enlarged Maryland- D. C. District)	
		Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia & North Carolina District	
		Maryland	36
		District of Columbia	5
		Virginia	5
		North Carolina	1
Utah District	15	Utah	15
Western Pennsylvania District	20	Pennsylvania (Western)	20
Wisconsin District	100	Wisconsin	100
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	45	Arizona	15
		Colorado	10
		Hawaii	0
		Iowa	3
		Kansas	2
		Nebraska	1
		Nevada	0
		New Mexico	5
		Texas (17 western counties)	3
		West Virginia (Exclusive of the four panhandle counties)	6
		Wyoming	0
<u>Total</u>	3,665	<u>Total</u>	3,665
TERRITORIAL POSSESSION	12	Puerto Rico	12

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>9/30/64</u>	<u>12/31/64</u>	<u>3/31/65</u>	<u>6/30/65</u>
Albany	12	11	10	10
Albuquerque	5	5	5	5
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	3	3	3	2
Baltimore	40	38	37	36
Birmingham	1	1	1	1
Boston	102	102	95	93
Buffalo	20	20	20	20
Butte	24	23	23	23
Charlotte	3	2	2	1
Chicago	331	334	303	308
Cincinnati	9	9	11	11
Cleveland	144	144	144	86
Dallas	7	7	7	6
Denver	5	5	5	10
Detroit	180	180	180	180
El Paso	2	2	2	3
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	3	3	3	3
Indianapolis	38	38	29	28
Jackson	0	0	0	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	6	6	6	6
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	1	1	1	1
Los Angeles	616	599	575	571
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	21	22	24	27
Milwaukee	102	102	102	100
Minneapolis	178	184	183	182
Mobile	1	1	1	1
Newark	67	64	64	65
New Haven	34	34	33	33
New Orleans	6	6	6	6
New York	1,401	1,385	1,073	1,103
Norfolk	1	1	1	1
Oklahoma City	9	9	9	9
Omaha	6	4	5	4
Philadelphia	103	99	96	95
Phoenix	19	19	14	15
Pittsburgh	24	24	30	29
Portland	62	52	52	52
Richmond	4	4	4	4
St. Louis	39	39	40	40
Salt Lake City	15	15	15	15
San Antonio	6	5	5	5

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (Con't)

	<u>9/30/64</u>	<u>12/31/64</u>	<u>3/31/65</u>	<u>6/30/65</u>
San Diego	31	23	23	23
San Francisco	264	259	256	258
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	195	192	186	186
Springfield	0	0	0	0
Tampa	0	2	3	2
Washington Field	6	6	5	5
<hr/>				
<u>TOTALS</u>	4,147	4,085	3,693	3,665
San Juan	12	12	12	12

Date received 7/16/65	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] (Rel.-Con.)	Received by SA JOHN A. HAAG
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Dictated _____ to _____
Date _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report
Exhibit

Date(s) of activity
Current

Brief description of activity or material

~~Rough draft letter by [redacted] re:~~

~~CPUSA dues payments~~

File where original is located if not attached

NY 100-80638-1B126

Remarks:

Bureau and all offices advised 7/16/65, by airtel.

b6
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b6
b7C
b7D
J

[redacted]

1 - 100-128255
1 - 100-80638 (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP) (42)

JAH:rvs
(3)

Block Stamp

100-80638-2165

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 9 1965
FBI-NEW YORK

Waters
#112

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10-26

10/5/65

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-242-Sub 1) (C)

RE: CP, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Re San Antonio letter to the Bureau dated 6/29/65.

On the best available information, there are an estimated 5 CP members or sympathizers who are suspected of being CP members in the territory covered by the San Antonio Division. Of these five, three of them can be positively identified as CP members. The other two are security informants who are active present CP members.

1. Total Number of Negroes Included in the Over-all Numerical Strength of the CP, USA in the San Antonio Territory 0
2. Name and Title of each Negro Included in this Total Who Maintains National Level Position 0
3. Name and Title of Each Negro Included in this Total who Maintains a District Level Position Above the Status of "Club Chairman"

3-Bureau (AM RM) ✓
 @ New York (100-CP, MEMBERSHIP) (AM RM)
 1-San Antonio
 JMK/dnb
 (6)

100-93325-^{NI}
 100-153666-^{copy}
 info

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
OCT 7 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-80638-266

SA 100-242-Sub 1

The five individuals mentioned above are herewith tabulated by nationality, race, sex, employment, known veterans, and known union members:

Nationality:

American 5

Race:

White 5

Sex:

Female: 1

Male: 4

Total 5

Known Veterans 2

Union Members 0

Employment:

Bookkeeper 2

Housewife 1

Salesmen 2

Total 5

b7D

On 10/5/65, [] advised that JOHN STANFORD continues as the main CP leader in San Antonio. He has been a CP member and leader in San Antonio from at least July, 1957, to the present time. He continues his efforts to strengthen the CP in this area. STANFORD has been a San Antonio representative on the State Committee of the CP of Texas from at least July, 1957. He has been Executive Secretary of the CP of Texas from at least February, 1958. In January, 1962, the State Committee and its offices were technically abolished; however, it was agreed that the committee and its officers would continue to function, and STANFORD has continued to do so to the present time.

October 22, 1965

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
 FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12464)
 SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 ORGANIZATION
 IS - C
 OO: NEW YORK

Reference Bureau letter to Albany dated July 29, 1965, which pointed out that the Communist Party (CP) National Board expected to hold a National Convention during the first quarter of 1966 and that representation at the National Convention would be based on dues sent in by the Party Districts to the National office during the period June through December, 1965.

On October 21, 1965, [redacted] orally advised SA [redacted] that on October 20, 1965, [redacted] Chairman of the CP of Maryland, met with GEORGE MEYERS, CP District Chairman. Both are CP National Committee members from Maryland.

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During the meeting [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] CP National Organizational Director, wanted a record of dues payments in order to assist the CP National leadership in determining the number of those who should be in attendance at a "National Assembly."

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MEYERS then asked how much money would be sent in for September. [redacted] replied that \$69 had been collected

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL) *100-80638-2162*
- 3 - Baltimore (1 - [redacted] *George Meyers*)
 (1 - 100-12076; GEORGE MEYERS)

b7D

RCM:dfm
(8)

100-80638-2162

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 23 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

BA 100-12464

in dues for the month of September from Maryland and that half of this amount, \$34, was to be sent to the National leadership.

MEYERS then took a CP dues report form and filled it out. (A copy of the form filled out by MEYERS is attached to this airtel.)

It should be noted that MEYERS in filling out the form indicated that there were 59 CP members in Maryland. This figure is inaccurate since the actual number of CP members in Maryland is 36, not 59. When filling out the form MEYERS made a comment that the figures would assist in seeing to it that both he and [redacted] would be present at the National Assembly.

b6
b7c

DUES REPORT DISTRICT _____

FOR THE PERIOD OF _____

INITIATIONS (on Gross Wages)	NUMBER OF DUES PAYMENTS FOR EACH MONTH												Total Number	Total Amt. Gross Dues	
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec			
Unemployed and Students)															
Housewives and (up to \$50.)														10	5.00
51-90 weekly)														35	35.00
91-120 weekly)														14	28.00
Over \$120 weekly)															
\$ 6															\$68.00

should be sent in regularly,
only each month.

Less 50% \$ 34.00

DEDUCTIONS*

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) ~~SECRET~~

DATE: 10/28/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

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IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE
SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

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Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated October 13, 14, and 15, 1965, containing information orally furnished on October 13, 14, and 15, 1965, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and [redacted] This information was reduced to writing on October 22, 1965, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9402. ~~S~~

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 - (1 - 100- (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 4-Cleveland (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
 - (1 - 65-721 (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
 - (1 - 100-1207 (PHIL BART)
 - (1 - 100- (FNU)(LNU)(white male youth believed to be from Cleveland, who also attended national CP youth meeting in Indiana during early 9/65; observed only 10/11 & 12/65)

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(1 - 100- [redacted]
(1 - 100- [redacted] (IRVING GOFF)
(1 - 100-141914 [redacted]
(1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
(1 - 100- (HELEN WINTER)
(1 - 100- (GEORGE MORRIS)
(1 - 100-9369 (TED BASSETT)

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October 13, 14, and 15, 1965

During the period October 8-12, 1965, a meeting was held in the Bermuda Room of the Vanderbilt Hotel, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, New York, of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) plus a few invited guests. Observed in attendance were the following persons who, unless noted to the contrary, attended all sessions of the meeting:

GUS HALL
MICKEY LIMA
WILL WEINSTONE
MIKE DAVIDOW.....not observed October
8 and 11, 1965

GIL GREEN
ANTON KRCHMAREK
JIM ALLEN
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
BETTY GANNETT

[redacted].....not observed October
8 and returned to
Detroit after session
of October 11, 1965

[redacted].....not observed October
12, 1965

BILL PATTERSON.....not observed October
8, 1965

DOROTHY HEALEY
HY LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
JIM TORMEY
ARNOLD JOHNSON
PHIL BART

[redacted].....not observed October
8, 1965

ERIC BERT.....not observed October
9 and 11, 1965

BOB THOMPSON
CARL WINTER.....due to illness did not
attend October 12, 1965

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**JACK STACHEL
AL RICHMOND**

[redacted]not observed October
8 and 12, 1965

**IRVING POTASH
MORRIS CHILDS**

[redacted]not observed October
10, 1965

**IRVING GOFF
JACK KLING**

[redacted]not observed October
12, 1965

HENRY WINSTON.....departed for Chile
October 9, 1965

HELEN WINTER

GEORGE MORRIS.....not observed October
8 and 11, 1965

TED BASSETT.....observed only October
9 and 12, 1965

[redacted]observed only October
9 and 12, 1965

(first name unknown)

(last name unknown).....white male youth believed
to be from Cleveland, Ohio,
who also attended National
CP Youth Meeting in Indiana
during early September, 1965;
observed only October 11 and
12, 1965

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First Session, October 8, 1965

Chairman - [redacted]

The first session of the meeting on October 8, 1965,
was opened by **HENRY WINSTON** who commented briefly on the im-
portance of the meeting. The Chairman of this session, [redacted]
[redacted], then listed the following agenda:

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- 1) Discussion of the draft of the CP, USA pro-gram.
- 2) The struggle for peace, the war in Vietnam, and the recent article of Marshal LIN PIAO, Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China.

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- 3) Procedures and timing of preparations for the forthcoming Convention of the CP, USA. JS

[] distributed a copy of a draft of the Party program to each person in attendance and stated that all present should read this document carefully and be prepared for a discussion thereof. AL RICHMOND would introduce this document during the October 8, 1965, session and the meeting would then adjourn to give those in attendance an opportunity to study the document. [] also announced that on Saturday, October 9, 1965, GUS HALL would make a report on the second item of the agenda; that is, the struggle for peace and the war in Vietnam. On Sunday, October 10, 1965, they would resume the discussion concerning the Party program. On Monday, October 11, 1965, they would proceed to the discussion of the third item on the agenda; that is, the procedures and timing of Convention preparations and this would continue perhaps through Tuesday, October 12, 1965. [] further announced that in November, 1965, there would be held another meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, to discuss and approve various resolutions to be brought before the Convention. Following these introductory remarks, [] introduced AL RICHMOND, who commented as follows:

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AL RICHMOND JS

I would like to make several observations that can make the reading of this program document more useful. This present document is not skimpy but rather has a lot of meat on it, unlike the previous "outline" which was presented. Last July instructions were issued for the preparation of a CP, USA program, but only one of the subcommittees appointed at that time actually functioned and it produced a document on the "New Left." As a result, this program was not ready on September 15th as originally planned but was finally completed not until September 25th. This document is the product of a subcommittee consisting of GUS HALL, GIL GREEN, HY LUMER, JIM JACKSON, and me. This group closeted itself in a room for days and worked on this and put it into shape. There is a section on farmers which will be produced and added to this program later. The section on small business is not yet ready but one will be added later. I think that the section on trade unions and labor is particularly good. This section can have a lasting effect if it is given to unionists to point the way in general and may survive and be applicable even two years from now.

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Although tactical considerations do enter into the making of a Party program, nevertheless, it must be remembered that the main object is strategic--that is, the Party program must have a long range view. ~~S~~

Subsequent to this introduction by RICHMOND, the meeting adjourned to give those in attendance an opportunity to study the draft program document. ~~S~~

Second Session, October 9, 1965 | ~~S~~

Chairman - WILLIAM PATTERSON | ~~S~~

The Chairman of the second session, BILL PATTERSON, announced at the outset of the meeting that GUS HALL, the General Secretary of the CP, USA, had celebrated his 55th birthday on the previous day, October 8, 1965. He then introduced GUS HALL who was to deliver a report on the struggle for peace, the war in Vietnam, and the recent article by the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China. GUS HALL commented, in essence, as follows:

GUS HALL | ~~S~~

I am happy to announce that CARL WINTER is back from his trip abroad. Also, HENRY WINSTON is going to the CP of Chile Congress. In my opinion, this is an historic occasion--the CP, USA having representation at a Latin American Congress. ~~S~~

My remarks today do not really constitute a "report." I made my report to the Legislative Conference sometime ago and the basic projections made at that time still hold true. However, the Secretariat has felt that there is a need to examine a few specific problems which have arisen as a result of happenings in Vietnam. ~~S~~

The war being waged by U.S. imperialists against the Vietnamese people is now a major military operation. The inch-by-inch bombing is as savage and brutal as the bombing of Hiroshima. The U.S. and their South Vietnamese stooges are waging a policy of genocide. The military build-up has now reached 165,000 troops, but this is only a preliminary stage. The build-up will go beyond 250,000 troops. The long-range significance of the build-up in South Vietnam goes far beyond

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South Vietnam in significance. The U.S. is also preparing a build-up in Thailand and other countries as a base from which to carry on a war against the People's Republic of China. This is the only possible explanation. The nature of the military installations being prepared clearly indicate that they are not only for war against the Vietnamese people, but are also for an occupation army and an army of aggression in Asia. This fact should alarm our people and the peoples of the entire world. This signifies a danger to world peace, a danger to the socialist world, and a danger to the peoples of Asia generally. This does not mean that the U.S. imperialists will succeed because there are many obstacles along the path of aggression. §

Now, I want to deal with a few problems of a political nature. First of all, is it still realistic to force a retreat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, etc.? The answer is yes--this retreat can be forced now. Secondly, is it still a realistic concept that the balance of world forces can force such a retreat and even contain it? This answer is also yes--otherwise, we would have to admit defeat; but this would be a wrong political assessment. Through struggle we can force this retreat of U.S. imperialism. §

Our conclusions must rest upon a political assessment of all the forces and their various interrelations. This must not be merely a counting of noses. A Marxist assessment must be accurate and objective. This assessment cannot be based upon emotional reactions only. I mention these generalities because within our ranks and in the movement around us there are such emotional attitudes. §

An essential question is this; is a purely military victory over U.S. imperialism now, today, realistic? It is my opinion that the world Marxist movement has not faced this question. I believe that a purely military victory is not in the cards today. Such an assessment is, in my opinion, correct. If this is not so, then the alternative is a nuclear war gamble now. Does this mean that U.S. imperialism will win? No--neither is an all-out retreat of anti-imperialist forces in the outlook. But there can be a political-military victory over imperialism. §

In Vietnam we have a classical example of naked aggression, yet the world anti-imperialist forces are not on the offensive. Why have the anti-imperialist forces not been able to mount an offensive, for example, on the question of convening the Geneva Conference? Why haven't Ghana and the other newly-liberated countries been able to use their initiative?

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Why not make use of the UN? Why not use the historic message of Pope Paul VI? Why has there been no use of the inner contradictions of the imperialist forces?

There is more than one answer and not every one is negative. There is more than one reason. But, all the answers and reasons rest on the wrong premise or assessment that a military victory is possible. This leaves out an appreciation of world-wide public opinion. U.S. imperialism is vulnerable mainly in the political sector and is getting away with murder. Negotiation is a political weapon even if it is used demagogically. What is a convincing answer to those who shout, "We want to negotiate, but the other side doesn't?" The best peace fighters have been nailed to the wall because they cannot answer this. This demonstrates a weakness on the political front on the part of the peace forces. Most anti-colonialist victories have been a mixture of political and military actions and most countries were liberated through the use and intermingling of all methods. This is a difficult question and we must face it even if publicly we have no answer. We have not made the slogan "Negotiations" our current slogan, but unconditional surrender is not the answer.

The recent "Insurgent" editorial is an example of what happens when negotiation is considered a retreat or defeat. Let me give you a quote from that editorial. It says "There appears to be considerable sentiment within the peace movements here in the U.S. that a means must be found for the State Department to bargain its way out of Vietnam. Such bargaining is referred to as 'negotiations.' We cannot accept this notion. To do so is to give tacit approval to the White House when it orders the bombing of The Democratic Republic of Vietnam." This is what happens when negotiation is considered a retreat or defeat.

This same editorial also says, "To bargain a solution in this situation would lead the war hawks to believe they could bargain with the lives of people in similar situations wherever the U.S. might interfere in the future. The peace of the world could not be guaranteed by the ending of the war in Vietnam."

This editorial was written by good comrades who are against negotiation even if the U.S. is bargained out of Vietnam. These same youthful comrades say that the peace movement, if it is to be effective, must go even further and tell the people what they are willing to sacrifice their lives for. This can mean only one thing, that is, even if it means nuclear war, we

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cannot negotiate; they want military victories. I am afraid that the same concepts are prevalent in a good part of the world Marxist movement. We, the CP, USA, still believe that U.S. imperialism can be made to retreat. If we give up this idea of conducting a political, ideological struggle for the retreat of imperialism, then we will have no path at all. We must find the path to call the bluff of U.S. imperialism and put it on the political defensive. ~~S~~

The key to this problem rests with the people of Vietnam and their Party. If they do not see this, then, of course, we cannot give them the answer. Speaking for myself, I believe that the world's progressive forces are allowing this opportunity to pass by. If there are other reasons for this impasse, then I would like to know what they are. ~~S~~

I said that not everything is negative and this is true enough. But, what I have said is actually the introduction to a discussion of Marshal LIN PIAO's article (which was not just an "article"). It was also an unscrupulous anti-Soviet slander. The world movement is making a fundamental error when it remains silent in the face of these monstrous lies by the Chinese. I would suggest that a commission be set up before our Convention to suggest ways in which to discuss this problem. We cannot close our eyes to the "weeds" in our neighbor's yard. Later, we may regret our silence if we raise no proposals on how to conduct this. ~~S~~

Some people argue that the Chinese "do not mean this." Such people are wrong--they do. It is also wrong to say that such statements by the Chinese are meant only for Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This is not so. The Chinese say that these so-called "laws" are universal. Besides, such an argument would be considered an insult to the Chinese, if we say "They don't mean it." The issue is whether this is the only form of struggle anywhere. The issue is whether this is the only form, that is, violence, of struggle against imperialism. We can't be on the political offensive if the only argument is military struggle. ~~S~~

Marshal LIN's article contains the statement that "It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade MAO Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' He clearly pointed out: 'The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good.

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universally, for China and for all other countries." But, what about the political and ideological consciousness of the masses. This is a Robin Hood concept of politics. Many Parties are now veering away from such a one-sided policy. I am sure that the North Vietnamese and the North Korean Party are now debating this. This article was written in order to stop this breaking away from the Chinese orbit. X

But, the role of the classes is fundamental and this is completely distorted by this article. It makes the peasantry the most important class. Marshal LIN quotes his thesis on the comparison of the cities and the countryside to the "cities" of the U.S. and Western Europe and the "countryside" of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Even the socialist countries are not given any role except as a "reserve." He misses the main contradiction in the world. He makes each country an entity which can win with its own guerrilla forces. The main fire is against U.S. imperialism as only imperialism. X

This article, I am sorry to state, has received some acceptance. The "National Guardian" and the "Monthly Review" are pushing this. I have spoken to many others who have fallen for this Chinese thesis. This thesis of war is comforting to the petty bourgeoisie who have no confidence in the people and who do not participate in any struggle. What they do not understand is that guerrilla warfare is not the essence of this epoch. X

On the thesis that "each country can win for itself," Marshal LIN had this to say: "Vietnam is the most convincing example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war. The U.S. has made South Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for several years and everybody can now see that the U.S. aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with a people's war. They are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But, the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do, too. History has proved and will go on proving that the people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackies. All revolutionary people will learn

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to wage a people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackies. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles, and become skilled in waging a people's war, although they have not done so before. U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fire of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions." ~~X~~

Of course, this thesis would lead to adventurism and it does. It leaves out the stages of struggle, alliances, etc. The forces determining the course of human affairs are many sided and interrelated. Military forces are only a part of this. The policy of peaceful coexistence takes into account all forces in the world, the working class, the liberation movements, etc. New paths to victory over reaction can and do block the unleashing of a third world war, that is, a nuclear war. A political-military victory over imperialism is possible and imperialism must be confronted on all fronts. ~~X~~

Where does such a thesis as that of Marshal LIN leave the central thesis of peace? The answer is high and dry. Where does it leave peaceful coexistence? The question of peaceful paths? Methods of struggle for socialism? Where is the Marxist concept of class struggle and the relation of classes? What about economic struggles? What about political struggles? What about the socialist world and the advance of civilization? What about the world peace movement? The world Marxist movement must give the answers or it cannot call President JOHNSON's bluff on negotiations. If there is no other way, what is wrong with a Geneva Conference? I can see nothing but good coming out of this. After all, U.S. imperialism has no political leg to stand on in Vietnam. ~~X~~

Why is the USSR silent in this regard? Why is there no exchange of opinions with other Parties on these questions? U.S. imperialism likes this situation. The comparison that is made between U.S. military power and the military power of the French in 1954 is nonsense. The Chinese say that in 1965 the U.S. is weaker. This mistake was the basis for the military assessment made by the Chinese in regard to Vietnam. Should we not discuss these things with other Parties? ~~X~~

We can see that the peace movement is no longer growing on the same level as was the case six months ago. There is not as much moral indignation. Even Congressional opposition has been muffled. The trade union activity expected at the Ann Arbor Vietnam Conference did not materialize. Maybe this last was due

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to the fact that the conference was held during the summer. Perhaps, but that is not the real answer. The real reason is that the Johnson Administration has the ability to confuse the issue because of the fact that we have had no answer to this demagogy in regard to negotiations. The appointment of ARTHUR GOLDBERG as Ambassador to the UN was based on the statement that "He will negotiate or find a way." This characterization helped JOHNSON. The real problem has been the inability to put forth the political question involved. We should utilize Pope PAUL's speech and the existing perspectives for the peace movement. In regard to the students' disobedience in relation to the Selective Service Act, refusing to be drafted to fight in Vietnam, etc., this is no substitute for mass struggle. Neither is the burning of draft cards the answer. There must be mass support for these actions.

Following HALL's report, there was the following discussion of his report:

BOB THOMPSON

The Vietnamese people are not the obstacle to peace or to the building of the peace movement in the U.S. The U.S. imperialists and their propaganda are to blame. Furthermore, the UN cannot play a role in the situation unless China becomes a part of the UN.

AL RICHMOND

I believe that the proposals by GUS HALL are somewhat distorted. GUS talked about a combination of forms of struggle. But, it is not just "peace;" it is peace and liberation. Just to raise the slogan of "peace" would please the Administration of President JOHNSON.

CARL WINTER

I would like to make some comments in regard to world Marxist unity and world peace. It appears obvious to me that if there is no split there can be no escalation. In my judgment, we are pulling our punches on peace. GUS HALL is absolutely correct when he states that we must rebuff the Chinese thesis.

At the recent Congress of the CP of Romania, which I attended, the main report did not deal with world peace and the situation in the world communist movement. It was only after

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representatives of 56 fraternal Parties spoke that a special resolution was passed on this suggestion. This symbolizes a sort of "standing between" the two contending forces of the USSR and the People's Republic of China. We, ourselves, are not absolved. We let ourselves be pushed around at the World Peace Congress in Helsinki, Finland. **CARLTON GOODLETT** was all right, but some CP members did not speak for the people of the U.S. ~~X~~

Actually, there are not two left positions in the world; there is only one true left position and that is the Marxist-Leninist position. The others are pseudo-left. ~~X~~

I recently met with the leaders of the Mongolian Party and some of the members of their youth. I also met three times with their Politburo. I learned that Peking broadcasts daily in the Mongolian language to these people. The Chinese are constantly interfering in Mongolian affairs. Finally, the Chinese withdrew the manpower they had in Mongolia and left many of their mutual projects unfinished. Then, the CP of China stated that if the Mongolians would change their line, than the CP of China would once again help them. Further, the Chinese have made more than 600 raids across their borders into Siberian territory during this year alone. ~~X~~

Our Party has a role to play in the world situation. We don't have to wait and stand in the middle or fear the consequences of our actions. What we are doing is conducting a campaign for peace, the purpose of which is not to get U.S. imperialism off the hook. ~~X~~

In my discussions with the leaders of North Vietnam, with whom I met for four days, it was obvious that the Vietnamese do not believe in going down the road to war all the way to the end. There are some differences and they are worried about the fact that the South Vietnamese people are being destroyed. They indicated that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam is not an unbreakable demand before negotiations although that slogan is used. Such is not the actual intent of the Hanoi leaders. Based upon the information which I have received, it is my opinion that North Vietnam will not press indefinitely for the withdrawal of U.S. troops as a precondition for negotiations. I know that **JOHN GOLLAN** from the CP of Great Britain has had discussions with leaders of the North Vietnamese Party and he also is convinced that North Vietnam has no desire to escalate the war. I learned also that material destined for use by the fighters of imperialism in South Vietnam often stands on railroad tracks in China for weeks

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and weeks awaiting the Chinese pleasure to move them to Vietnam. ~~S~~

JAMES ALLEN ~~S~~

The recent article by Marshal LIN PIAO of the Chinese position is in effect the competitive document to the document of the Si-Party Conference. We must deal with this document on the basis of conditions in our country and upon the basis of our programmatic position. Furthermore, this cannot be handled emotionally if we want to be taken seriously. ~~S~~

The subject of "negotiations" is a complex problem. If other Parties defer to the wishes of Hanoi on this subject, then we will have to do the same. According to WILFRED BURCHETT, Hanoi will insist that they will handle the war themselves. They will not give a pretext for the USSR and China to confront the U.S. in Vietnam. They will do their own fighting short of an invasion by U.S. ground troops. They will do everything to avoid the next step of escalation which can only be nuclear. ~~S~~

HY LUMER ~~S~~

If the line of the CP of China and "The Guardian" is not challenged, it will make inroads ideologically on some people. Our problem is not whether we attack the Chinese--perhaps we, too, are the victim. ~~S~~

GIL GREEN ~~S~~

The question that must be asked is whether the Vietnamese comrades are making a tactical error in the way in which they present the problem of negotiations. The answer is no and I am opposed to urging compromise on the part of North Vietnamese. But this raises the question of whether this is the main reason why we are facing difficulties in the peace movement. We must take into consideration the effect of the domestic policy of the Administration. The program outlined by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a four-point program beginning with a return to the conventions of the Geneva Conference of 1954. There also arises the problem with respect to representation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. It should be noted that we cannot tell the Vietnamese people who are engaged in a war that they must "surrender." Remember, intransigence can lead to war; but capitulation can also lead to war or another Spain. It is not enough to reject the Chinese point of view; we must sharpen our own objectives. The main area of contradiction is the colonial world. Latin America will be liberated by armed struggles because there is no other way. Alongside the slogan of the danger of an imperialist war we must also stress the importance of a correct ideology. ~~S~~

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[redacted] ~~X~~

In my judgment, the Chinese line in regard to Latin America is disastrous. It is not true as has been said that only Chile will have a peaceful road to communism. That is just not so. The CP of Venezuela wants a democratic peace; the government wants capitulation. In Colombia, too, they are proposing structural reform. Even in Brazil the CP is participating in the elections, etc. This is true also in Argentina. ~~X~~

Following the above discussion, GUS HALL delivered the following summary:

GUS HALL ~~X~~

Because of world differences, work in the world communist movement has been stymied or paralyzed. In the work of our Party we must not hold up our work because of our differences. First of all, questions must be posed in order to find the answers. Comrades among the youth in the Midwest pressed for the answer on how to make these discussions public. I must admit that I don't know the answer. ~~X~~

Does the basic position of China influence the situation regarding Vietnam? Of course it does. We have the problem of how to overcome this. If we have no answers, let's say so. It is a fact that U.S. policy is fakery, or as BOB THOMPSON said, it is a monstrous lie. But this monstrous lie has taken hold of people and we have to combat it and expose it. Fighting imperialism or telling us to fight imperialism is only a delusion. In regard to the slogan "Negotiations," GIL GREEN wasn't, until recently, against the use of the slogan "Negotiations". We never said that this was the main issue but a principled position against negotiations is wrong. That position is different than the question of when and how to use it. There is one power that will avoid negotiations and that is U.S. imperialism. But what will pressure U.S. imperialism to negotiate withdrawal from South Vietnam. GIL GREEN's reason is no good; that is, "domestic policy" or "influences." What of the rest of the world? U.S. imperialism is afraid that in these negotiations the question of "self-determination" will come up. In regard to the Dominican Republic, these people face the same problem. During their revolution the Dominicans combined military methods with political methods. Now, the emphasis will be on the political sector until the elections. But the Chinese are calling for a continuation of the military methods. If they follow the Chinese advice, they will endanger the mobilization of the American people who favor independence. ~~X~~

Someday negotiations will have to start. The "Insurgent," the magazine of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs had better give

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some thought to this. If a military victory were possible, that would be another story. But right now that is out. The world communist movement must find some way to synchronize their activities. ~~S~~

In regard to the position of the Vietnamese and negotiations, although they do have four points, there is a haziness there. The UN can play a role in this situation and that was the essence of the speech by the Hungarian Minister on this problem. I do not accept the idea that we must defer to Hanoi on the subject of negotiations. We should give our opinions because we, above all, know U.S. imperialism. As to the comments attributed to WILFRED BURCHETT, I am not too sure that they are accurate and I would have to check them. We should even think through how to use those things stated by the Vietnamese. GIL GREEN's example of "capitulation in Spain" was not good either. It was a different world at that time. The question posed by GIL GREEN is too broad: Is revolution in Latin America desirable? Such a question is not warranted. It is insulting. We do not decide these matters and forms of struggle--we will respect the Party's decision of a given country. ~~S~~

The peace movement must demand "stop the bombing," etc., to expose the Administration's bluff. Because of this, the British Labor Party gets away with murder. ~~S~~

I suggest we form a committee to bring in our proposals on this subject. ~~S~~

Third Session, October 10, 1965

Chairman - MICKEY LIMA ~~S~~

The third session of the meeting convened on October 10, 1965, and the Chairman, MICKEY LIMA, announced that this session would be devoted to an overall discussion of the Party draft program. The first person to speak was GUS HALL. ~~S~~

GUS HALL ~~S~~

Our approach to the preparation of this draft of a Party program was to avoid high-flying phrases and generalities. I propose now that we first hold a discussion on the entire draft and then proceed later with a discussion of the draft section by

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section. I think we should each limit ourselves to seven minutes today and to ten minutes tomorrow and thus cut our sessions so that people will not be so tired. ~~S~~

WILL WEINSTONE ~~X~~

I am of the opinion that this is a good program and quite well written. I think that the section dealing with the peaceful road to socialism is very good. However, why don't we make some reference to Marxism-Leninism; why is it left out? Also, why have we neglected to mention the role of the Party? Are we advocating a new Party or not? ~~S~~

MIKE DAVIDOW ~~X~~

Although the document impressed me as being a good one, I think there was a serious weakness in its failure to deal with the transitional period from the present capitalist system to socialism. In regard to federal, state, and city relationships, we must somehow state that in the present political relationship there is room for flexibility forcing changes to bring on socialism and that, therefore, it is possible to accomplish something even under capitalism. I also believe that the Party's position on war and peaceful coexistence can be placed in stronger terms. ~~S~~

GIL GREEN ~~X~~

In connection with the draft of this program, we still have to insert a chapter on programmatic demands. ~~S~~

ANTON KRCHMAREK ~~X~~

In my opinion, the vocabulary in this draft should be simplified. We are supposed to be talking to the working class and therefore it must be understandable. ~~S~~

JIM ALLEN ~~X~~

I feel that it is generally a good document although it may be somewhat overwritten. Also, I am not too sure that we should append specific demands because specific demands do change. ~~S~~

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

I am of the opinion that the document is one of the best ever developed. Further, I believe that the section of the draft program dealing with the socialist goal or the socialist "dream" should come first. We should also include a description of the vast technical advance in the U.S., its riches, etc., rather than stressing poverty and all things bad. But, it should also show that in spite of these vast technological accomplishments, the many unsolved problems in the country can only be solved through socialism. I believe that the section of the document relating to the Negro question fails to adequately show the impact of the Negro movement in America.

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BETTY GANNETT

I agree with CLAUDE's remarks and feel that we should show in this program what capitalism has accomplished and then indict it.

[Redacted]

The program must project a living future for this Party.

[Redacted]

I feel that this draft sets forth the programmatic position of the CP, USA and is good for the leftward moving masses. It does give a Marxist-Leninist approach even if it is not so spelled out.

WILLIAM PATTERSON

The program should more clearly and concisely outline the Party's position concerning constitutional liberties and show the people that the Party is the best defender of the Constitution and the rights of the people. The present draft contains too many phrases and words without meaning for the average person and if the people won't read the document, it is not worth the paper upon which it is written.

BY LUMER

The real author of this draft document is AL RICHMOND, and he accomplished what was almost an impossible task. There

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are some gaps in this document but these are due to our present inability to give the answers. In regard to the lack of an anti-monopoly program, it may be possible to add an introduction to this program by which we show that we are a Party of Socialism.

GIL GREEN

We do have here a good base for a new program and the credit for this belongs to AL RICHMOND. Before this document could be placed in writing, we needed some clarity of thinking. I believe that the section of the program dealing with socialism and what we stand for can properly be moved to the forward part of this document.

GEORGE MEYERS

I must say that the recent article by Marshal LIN really put communists in a difficult position on the subject of peace. The Chinese are giving everyone the impression that communists are advocates of war.

At this point a motion was made and passed that a commission be formed to prepare a refutation to the argument of Marshal LIN PIAO that war is necessary and inevitable. The members of the commission are as follows:

HY LUMER
CARL WINTER
DOROTHY HEALEY
ANTON KRCHMAREK
MICKEY LIMA
JIM JACKSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[] (to replace LIGHTFOOT should LIGHTFOOT be unable to function as a member of this commission)

CARL WINTER

In this draft we now have the basis for our Party program that can now go down to the membership. When this is done, we will have a program. I think, however, that we are too apologetic and spend too much time trying to satisfy the "self-styled" left and this is no good. We can satisfy them and miss the mass movements. I agree that perhaps the portion

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dealing with socialism might be moved up in the program, but I think we should start with the idea that all else in the U.S. is ready for socialism except for the fact that capitalism is so highly developed in the U.S. that it impedes the transition to socialism. X

JACK STACHEL X

I believe that the most important thing about this document is unity on the most fundamental problems. Whom are we writing this document for? Theoretically, it is for the millions but, in reality, it is for those who are moving in the left direction. X

GUS HALL X

Our discussions show a positive attitude towards this draft. It is landmark for our more mature leadership. This shows unanimity among us. X

AL RICHMOND did a real fine job and should be commended. He showed a rare ability by being able to incorporate the thoughts of others into this document. In the preparation of this document time was a most important factor since we could not postpone this National Board meeting. This accounts for the reason why certain things were left out such as references dealing with the Negro, etc. This document clearly shows the spirit that we are "rebels" and not just ordinary. Also, it shows that it is a program based upon moving the masses and yet drawing fundamental conclusions. X

There were some difficulties in the preparation of this document, especially in regard to international relations. While we are generally against a monolithic international organization, we are also against polycentrism favoring autonomy of Parties which can be used as an anti-Soviet weapon. In respect to this question we must really think out some more positive aspects. X

I do not agree that we should move the question of socialism to a more forward part of the document. Some people are more interested in the problems that exist now. However, perhaps we can handle it in a preamble that we are a Party of socialization. X

This draft program will be a draft emanating from the National Board. It can still be adopted as the draft by

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the Convention. Later on it can be ratified, perhaps even a year later. ~~S~~

AL RICHMOND ~~S~~

I would like to bring up a few points of information. In regard to the mention of our Party, there was a discussion on this. One idea I had was that at the end we might say to those who agree with this program, "Join this Party and struggle to realize its aims." To others who do not agree with us totally but who agree with us on some things, we might say, "Join us in the struggle for these aims on which we agree, while we continue to discuss the others." ~~S~~

Another area not resolved in this draft is the formulation of programmatic demands. We also need more on structural reform. We need more distillation theoretically on the relationship between capitalism and monopoly. Is this concept formulated by LENIN 55 years ago still applicable today? Perhaps not. We should look into this. ~~S~~

Another problem was the issue of structure in regard to this document; that is, where to begin--where to start. We must come to the decision that only one thing can come first. Maybe CLAUDE'S point was correct; that is, to start with what identifies us with the people; or may be CARL WINTER was right when he said we should start with "socko" socialism. However, I would agree with GUS that we would be more in keeping with methodological logic by starting with developments. ~~S~~

Following this discussion the meeting was adjourned so that all could continue to study the document in order to participate in the following day's phase of the discussion on the program section by section until it became necessary to adjourn the meeting of the National Board. ~~S~~

Fourth Session, October 11, 1965 ~~S~~

Chairman - ~~S~~

At the beginning of the fourth session on October 11, 1965, Chairman announced that this session would be devoted to a discussion of the first part of the Party program draft. This discussion was as follows:

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JAMES ALLEN

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I would like to bring up several points which perhaps need further treatment in this draft. First of all, in regard to U.S. monopoly, there are millions of people who are still small capitalists. Therefore, the question arises whether we can come out against capitalism in general or should it not be more specifically against the centralization of wealth, that is, monopoly capital. Also, we must deal with monopoly and the cyclical economic crises because there is a spreading myth that with the help of the government such cyclical economic crises have been smoothed out or eliminated. Another aspect which must be treated is the so-called welfare aspect of the state. We must point out that the present capitalist state cannot function without such welfare aspects and that actually there is a socialist trend in the U.S. Therefore, the U.S. needs to be made more Marxist in nature. We must also show that since monopoly dominates the American economy, the farmers and small businessmen are the victims of monopoly. The draft program must show the political benefits that accrue to the monopolists as a result.

BETTY GANNETT

In view of the fact that the section on economics is missing, it is creating certain problems for us. We have to show how the government actually is helping monopoly. It is not sufficient to talk about the "industrial-military complex." We must show the grip of the monopolies on the people. It is disturbing to me when we say that peaceful coexistence depends upon radical changes. In my opinion, this is not so, and we can coexist prior to the accomplishment of these radical changes.

WILL WEINSTONE

We must be clear on the content of the words in this draft. We must use precise words rather than such vague generalities as the "establishment" or the "power structure." The Party must consider the fact that there are a lot of small businesses which are not part of monopoly. However, monopoly is decisive and the transition to socialism will be accelerated if monopoly is abolished.

GUS HALL

The anti-monopoly struggle is most important and fundamental. On this we must be absolutely clear. On this very

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question the Chinese attacked PALMIRO TOLLIATTI and the entire world movement. We should not confuse monopoly domination of our land with the need for a struggle in their own interest by its victims such as farmers and labor. Even to the day of socialism this struggle against monopoly will go on. We must view the entire wide spectrum of victims of monopolies. There is a wide group of victims of monopoly even within business such as distributors, subcontractors, etc. We should also show the struggles and contradictions within monopolies, too, and take advantage of these differences. We must view the anti-monopoly question in such a manner to reflect the level of political and ideological thinking even of masses who are not yet ready to completely overthrow capitalism. X

GIL GREEN X

The Party must concentrate on what is necessary to break up the military-industrial complex. While it is a tremendous task to curb this monopoly, the evident cyclical crises show that capitalism has become "organized." I might also mention that I do not believe that it is possible to ever have "complete disarmament." X

BOB THOMPSON X

I believe we should have a paragraph to show that monopoly oppresses everyone. The present anti-monopoly coalition is too narrow. Some fear war but will not go along with us against monopoly; they will only join us in actions for peace. X

DOROTHY HEALEY X

A weakness in the draft is that we have not explained what is state-monopoly-capitalism. This must be documented. X

AL RICHMOND X

I think the time has come for us to make some concrete proposals or we will be here until doomsday. X

At this point the proceedings were interrupted for some proposals relative to the forthcoming National Convention of the CP, USA. [redacted] made the following proposals:

1) That the Convention be held in April, 1966, and be called a "National Assembly."

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2) That the first period of the pre-Convention discussion should be concerned with the Party program to be followed by discussion of other topics.

3) That pre-Convention discussion periods should be held through December, 1965, January, 1966, and February, 1966, and articles should be prepared to appear in Party periodicals.

4) That the various Districts should decide what kind of pre-Convention meetings should be held below the District level during February and March, 1966.

5) That each District go through a selection procedure of delegates in a normal manner; that the period July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965, should be the period the dues averages of which would be used as the basis for selection of delegates to the National Convention.

6) That the next meeting of the full National Committee of the CP, USA would be held at the end of November, 1965 or in early December, 1965. The political resolutions for the Convention should be adopted at this meeting of the National Committee.

7) That after nominations and balloting in the elections at the National Convention that a secret count of the votes would be made by a special committee to be appointed for that purpose. ~~X~~

On the basis of the above proposals, it was decided that the Convention would be held in April, 1966, and would be held under the name of "National Assembly for Peace and Democracy" or something similar. The draft program would be discussed for a month before other documents for the Convention are injected in the discussion. During the pre-Convention discussion period, December, 1965-February, 1966, extensive use would be made of "Political Affairs", "The Worker", and a special Convention bulletin. District and section conventions will be held in February or March, 1966, and some Districts will decide whether they need special county or section conventions. Conventions will not be held in the Districts after the National Convention. It was agreed that there will be no public announcement of the vote at the National Convention and that reliable and trusted Party members would bring in the results. The number of delegates from each District would be based upon dues averages from July 1, 1965, to December 31, 1965. ~~X~~

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The next meeting of the entire National Committee will be held at the end of November or early December, 1965, at which the main political resolution for the Convention will be adopted. This meeting will also settle all other questions including convention representation, number of delegates, etc. Invitations will be sent to certain guests and this will also be worked out in the future. It is desired that this Convention have a real impact on American life. While legal problems do exist, they will not interfere with Convention preparations. ~~X~~

GIL GREEN objected to the various delays in getting the Convention underway and said "Let's go ahead with it." GUS HALL at this point replied by counseling some caution since the Party will be going into certain court procedures in the next few months in a fight for its legality and existence. Yet, he foresaw no obstacle to the beginning of discussions. HALL indicated the date is not important in itself and should be left flexible so the Party can invite youth and others. Perhaps the Party would hold public meetings in all Districts beforehand. According to HALL, there was no need to pinpoint the dates right at this time. All of these general proposals as outlined by [redacted] and GUS HALL were approved. ~~X~~

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Following this interruption, the discussion of the draft program continued. ~~X~~

JIM TORNEY ~~X~~

I would like to repeat that there appears in this Party program no actual characterization of the epoch in which we are living. ~~X~~

IRVING POTASH ~~X~~

In my opinion, the draft program is too generous in regard to the U.S. and its past history, especially regarding Latin America. It must be emphasized that the main contradiction is between imperialism and socialism. ~~X~~

BETTY GANNETT ~~X~~

Just as the capitalist revolution was ushered in by the revolutions of the 18th Century, so today the socialist revolution is ushering in the new era of socialism. ~~X~~

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GUS HALL ~~/~~

There are areas that need strengthening in the program, we'll admit. Because of the fact that we come from the biggest imperialist country means that we cannot just repeat the SI-Party statement, although I agree with the SI-Party statement. We must make it clear that the main antagonist of imperialism is the socialist world. Capitalism will continue to perpetrate acts of aggression. The nature of capitalism does not change but certain forces make it behave differently. ~~/~~

At the close of this session, HALL urged all present to once again read the Party program document and to write out any changes which they desired and the discussion would continue on the following day. ~~/~~

Fifth Session, October 12, 1965

Chairman - HELEN WINTER ~~/~~

The fifth session of the meeting was held on October 12, 1965, under the Chairmanship of HELEN WINTER. A number of speakers were critical on the wording of Section III which was the subject of the initial discussion because of the lack of clarity in the language and the fact that the Party's scope and role were not sufficiently spelled out. ~~/~~

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT ~~/~~

The civil rights movement has brought about a new political alignment of forces and this is not clearly shown in this document. The Negro-labor alliance must be aligned with the labor movement because its next step is in the political arena. ~~/~~

HELEN WINTER ~~/~~

The third section of this draft should be reorganized and rewritten because it is repetitious and not meaningful. ~~/~~

AL RICHMOND ~~/~~

Some constructive suggestions for the rewriting of this draft document would be appreciated since up to now the suggestions and criticisms have not been too constructive in this direction. ~~/~~

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WILLIAM PATTERSON / X

I believe that the section should include a portion to deal with white chauvinism. X

DOROTHY HEALEY / X

It is my opinion that there should be some mention of the historic development of the working class in America. It should reflect labor's inactivity in the 1920's and the militancy of the 1930's. X

JIM TORNEY / X

Section III is one of the strongest sections of the whole document, but greater emphasis should be placed on the unorganized in the South. X

GUS HALL / X

Section III is somewhat "off balance" in its approach to the American working class and the labor movement. Although not evident at first reading, it is really too negative. Although the Party does not have all the answers, it must give leadership towards solving the problems in the labor movement. X

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT / X

The Negro will be unable to move forward in the political field without changes in the labor movement whose leaders are controlled and influenced by white politicians. In regard to the Negro revolution, the church and civil rights workers have gone as far as they can go and now labor must take over in order to obtain political objectives. Through its money, experience, and voting members, labor can more readily achieve these objectives. The Negro masses should concentrate on Negro nationalism in addition to their concern with integration and segregation. X

WILLIAM PATTERSON / X

I consider this document, which is in the process of being written, as one which the Negro people can assume as their own. Only the CP could write a document of such magnitude. The middle class Negro has used their own particular ideology to slow down the Negro movement and this acute danger must be exposed. The Party must recognize and support Dr. MARTIN LUTHER

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KING in regard to the position that he has taken on peace in Vietnam. Dr. KING's stand was magnificent. ~~S~~

GIL GREEN ~~X~~

The Party must support Negro nationalism. The Negro is demanding his own leadership and the role of the white people and the civil rights struggle is changing. The leadership in the civil rights movement must now come from two areas: 1) the labor movement; and, 2) the ghetto community. ~~S~~

JIM ALLEN ~~X~~

There should be a specific definition of Negro nationalism. Negroes must control the civil rights organizations. Furthermore, if the government fails to provide protection for Negroes, the Negroes have the right to organize and provide their own defense. ~~S~~

Following the lunch break, HELEN WINTER read to the meeting a birthday greeting to GUS HALL which had been received from the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union expressing their fraternal greetings and wishes for good health and success in mobilizing the CP. ~~S~~

MICKEY LIMA ~~X~~

Negro-white unity is an essential part of the process of development of class consciousness in this country. ~~S~~

PHIL BART ~~X~~

The Party should strive to set up a Negro Affairs Bureau in Washington, D.C., as a part of the Federal Government to handle Negro matters. ~~S~~

ARNOLD JOHNSON ~~X~~

The Negro people's struggle during the last decade would be more dramatically portrayed in this draft by specifically citing the number of marches, jailings, etc., and those who died for the cause of Negro freedom. ~~S~~

WILL WEINSTONE ~~X~~

This draft document should point out that the struggles of the Negro people have produced a new organization of the Negro

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masses, new Negro leadership, and self-confidence among the Negro people. ~~S~~

GEORGE MEYERS ~~S~~

I do not think our thinking on religion should be a rigid thinking. We should not have a closed mind on religion especially since the Pope's all-out fight for peace. We must not say that only atheists have the correct thought. Some atheists are very fascist-minded while some Catholics are progressive. ~~S~~

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DOROTHY HEALEY ~~S~~

I do not agree entirely with what the document stated about religion. While it would be impossible to do an elaborate job on the subject of religion, nevertheless, we cannot leave it as it is. ~~S~~

~~S~~
I believe that the document should show that our Party is in favor of world conferences of CPs. ~~S~~

At this point, HY LUMER took the floor to render a brief report on a matter not connected with discussion on the Party program. In this report he noted the following:

HY LUMER ~~S~~

The committee which had been set up previously to review the document of Marshal LIN had now met with most members of that committee being present and participating. As a result of this meeting, the committee now has the following recommendations: The document of Marshal LIN definitely needs a reply by the CP, USA. The committee recommends that most of HALL's remarks in his opening speech be incorporated in the answer to the Chinese on Marshal LIN's document. However, such an answer will not be issued over the signature of GUS HALL but instead will be published as an article in "Political Affairs." All of the arguments which are to be presented as a rebuttal to Marshal LIN's document will be presented from the point of view and with the approach that war is not good. The language of the document will be so tempered as to not embarrass the Soviet Union in any way. Arguments will be picked up and answered as they logically develop in the editorial. ~~S~~

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Then, on a different matter. The "World Marxist Review" is coming out with its next issue devoted to the U.S. and will consist of articles written by Americans. The articles in this special issue of the magazine include one by GUS on imperialism; one by WINNIE on organization; one by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the Negro and civil rights movement; one by VICTOR PERLO on government and business, which will actually be the second installment; and, one by myself on poverty. Everyone should get some extra copies of this special issue of the "World Marxist Review" and see that it is read and distributed. ~~S~~

At this point and just prior to the adjournment of this five-day meeting of the National Board, it was announced that the draft program which had been under extensive discussion for the entire period of this meeting would now be returned to the Program Committee and that AL RICHMOND would stay over in New York to head up the committee. The committee would attempt to incorporate the recommendations, changes, and amendments to the Party program which this meeting had suggested. The committee then expects to spend about one week to ten days on incorporating these changes into the document and then will transmit the program to the National Board members who attended this meeting. These National Board members will then have a week to ten days to review the amended program and if they feel it necessary will send in additional proposals. By this method the National Board members would be given one more chance to submit some additional specific recommendations. Thereafter, it is hoped that within approximately a week to ten days all final recommendations can be incorporated into the new document and dissemination of the program can be made. ~~S~~

In addition, a commission of four was appointed to handle the matter of form in which this new Party program would appear, the method of its publication, and to establish when, where, and how the document would be finally distributed. Three of the four members of this commission were: HY LUMER, JIM JACKSON, CARL WINTER. ~~S~~

The foregoing meeting adjourned at approximately 4:45 p.m., October 12, 1965. ~~S~~

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DATE 03-28-2012

Optional Form #10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC (100-721)

DATE: 11/1/65

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP, USA
BUTTE DIVISION
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<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>	<u>RECEIVED</u>	<u>AGENT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
[redacted]	Activity, CP meeting, Fairfield, Montana, 10/20/65	10/27/65	[redacted]	[redacted]

- 1 - SAC, Denver (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (Reg.)
- 1 - SAC, Milwaukee (NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM) (Reg.)

- ③ - SAC, New York (Reg.)
 - (1 - 100- CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
 - ① - 100- CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
 - (1 - 100- CP, USA - FUNDS)

- 1 - SAC, Salt Lake City (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (Reg.)
- 1 - SAC, San Francisco (W. E. B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA) (Reg.)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 - 100-5551 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-5264 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-785 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-5610 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-8060 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-5728 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-6050 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-6941 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-4840 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-6039 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-5233 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-7564 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-4941 - [redacted] | 1 - 100- [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-6563 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-8406 - [redacted] |
| 1 - 100-4997 - [redacted] | 1 - 100-8466 - W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUB |
| 1 - 100-6263 - [redacted] | |

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- 1 - 100-7583 - CP, USA-ORGANIZATION
- 1 - 100-4869 - CP, USA-FUNDS
- 1 - 100-721C - CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP
- 1 - 100-4864 - FARMERS UNION
- 1 - 100-5157 - PEOPLE'S VOICE
- 1 - 100-5436 - THE KAIMEN

THZ/ar
(35)

[redacted]

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[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed, furnished in person the following written report, dated 10/25/65:

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"This Report Written Oct. 25, 1965

"A meeting of the Communist Party of Montana was held on Oct. 20, 1965, in the Park Hotel, belonging to [redacted] at Fairfield, Mont.

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"It was a special meeting, called because [redacted] [redacted] from the National Office of the Communist Party was visiting Montana.

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"Those attending the meeting were [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] came in about an hour after the meeting had begun.

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"The meeting began at about 1:00 p.m.

"Geo. said he had written to [redacted] [redacted], advising them of the meeting. That he had stopped by the [redacted] home. That Chester was working and Sylvia couldn't get away. Edna reported that [redacted] was teaching school now. That the state teachers conference was being held in Great Falls, beginning tomorrow. That [redacted] would attend the conference. That she and Bill would be staying at the home of [redacted] North, Great Falls.

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"Danny said that he was presently in charge of rebuilding the party. But first he would like to say that the fact there is a functioning party in Montana is greatly appreciated at the National Office. That in most small states the party folded completely. That in Wyoming they still don't know a single person to contact to start to rebuild. That the party in Colorado had folded. But, that he had visited Colorado, gotten some people together, and now they are functioning as a party.

BT #100-721

"Danny said that from the conversations he had already had with the people he had met so far, he had gotten some ideas that might help the Montana Party.

"Danny said the possibility of a full time organizer for the region had been discussed thru the mail, and he thought it a good idea. That isolation seemed to be the big problem here. That, How can you build the party when the party can't be found. That an organizer would bridge the gap between party and public. That he would stand as spokesman for the party. That he would get invitations to speak at colleges, contact left students, sell literature and etc:

"Danny said that even if Montana agreed to a full time person, and could finance their share of the expense, it was not certain the right party person could be found. That it should be a young, single man who could live cheaply, rough it and do a lot of work.

"Geo. ask how much it would take to finance a full time person. Danny said about \$1,800.00 per year. that Montana's share would be about \$600.00, provided Colorado and Utah agreed to go along, and he would have to talk to them about that.

"Danny said that since a party organizer might not be found, they might consider a DuBois person. That the expense would be the same, but it would not be difficult to find the right person. He said DuBois Club people were not communist, but they were of the left. That such a person would work mainly with students and youth. That among the youth was where the party had failed the worst in recent years. Altho they had begun to make some progress now. That the party reached its lowest point in 1959, and at that time had less than 50 youths between the ages of 18 and 25, but it has 10 times that number now.

BT #100-721

"A person to work with the young people of Montana seemed to appeal to all those there.

"It was pointed out to Danny that Montana hadn't had much luck raising large amounts of money, to say nothing of doing so on a sustained basis. Danny said they could start by writing a letter, an appeal for money, to the Montana mailing list that they had. Edna said they had done that in connection with their Peace work, and had gotten no response to speak of. Altho they had asked the people to send their money to a Post Office box number.

"Danny said that was too impersonal, that they would have to decide on someone to sign the letter and become directly involved. That a good approach to use to get money would be to ask those people to help finance a progressive literature agent who would push left publications such as National Guardian, Monthly Review, Dialogue, Labor Today, Minority of One, Freedomways, Worker, Insurgent, (DuBois Clubs of American Publication) New World Review and books and pamphlets from Marzani & Munzell and International Publishers.

"Danny suggested they proceed to try to raise money, and if they can raise enough, than proceed with the matter of getting the person for literature agent. The others agreed this would be the right way to proceed.

"They discussed who would sign the letter, appealing for money, but could not agree. Geo. suggested they go on to something else for a while.

"Danny said the Montana Club meets every three months. He asked what they talked about. Geo. said that Edna and Erma belonged to The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and were actively working with that group. That the bulk of discussion at the

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meetings was concerned with their work. That he believed all who attended their meetings would like to discuss theoretical questions, but there was no time for it.

"Danny said he appreciated the problems of travel and time, but would like to see them discuss some theory at their meetings.

"Danny asked which was the most powerful people's organization in Montana. [] said, and the other agreed, that it was the Farmers Union. Danny said they should figure out ways to make their influence felt, for the long haul, in the Farmers Union.

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"Danny asked if there were any liberal publications in the state. [] showed him a copy of People's Voice, and said it was the only statewide liberal paper. Danny looked at it and asked if the Montana club would subscribe for it, for the National Office, so they would know what was going on here. It was agreed that Geo. would subscribe for the People's Voice, for the National Office, and charge it to the Montana party.

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[] mentioned that in the (Kaimen ?) University of Missoula Student paper, he sometimes reads very progressive articles by students. Danny said they should send the names of any progressive students to DuBois Clubs of America, 954 McAllister St., San Francisco, Cal. 94115 or Or, if they seem mainly interested in ending the war in Vietnam, send the name to, National Co-ordinating Council to End the War in Vietnam 300 Mifflin St. Madison, Wis.

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"Danny said a new Party Program had been prepared and had been or would be mailed, And that the program would provide guidelines for the clubs.

BT #100-721

"Danny said the National Office had provided a resercher, and that several state party's had prepared a Party program for their states. And that this could be done for Montana. It was agreed that it should be done. Danny did not say whether the resercher would visit Montana, But left the impression that it wouldn't be Nessesary.

"He asked for names of books that would be useful for reserch [] said 'Montana, High, Wide and Hansom.' Geo. said 'Copper Camp.' Danny asked what laws were needed in Montana that would help the working people. He was told that the unemployment compensation law was gradually being destroyed, and was now to the point where it was almost useless. That they have an Industrial Disease law on the books, but that it must be useless since hardly anyone is using it. That they need a weight distance tax law for trucks. A severence tax law for the extractive industrys. A lumber grading law. A new oil reyalties law for state owned oil land. A public utility district law.

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"Danny said there was to be a National Party convention in March or April 1966. That there was to be a pre-convention discussion in New York, probably in February. And there was to be a National discussion, looking toward the national convention, in December. That the date was now set for Dec. 4. He said that Montana should send someone to each of these gatherings. And that they should decide now who would go in December. [] said that Geo. should go. And this was agreed to before Geo. could get in an objection.

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"Geo. said those trips were very expensive. Danny said the National Office would pay expenses. Geo. said it was about the same difference, even tho it took Montana off the hook.

"Geo. said he had something to show Danny. He got out a letter from the National Organizational

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Department, with a note at the bottom which said, 'We hope you can come thru soon with the \$25.00 for National Office sustaining fund for 1965.' Geo. said this was the first he had heard of it. Danny said he had already ran into that situation a number of times. That a Letter asking for a sustainer had been sent to all areas. That he believed the Post Office must have destroyed most of them.

"Geo. said he wanted to bring it up before anyone left so it could be taken care of. Geo. said he would contribute \$5. for that purpose. [redacted] Charley and Murry each gave Geo. \$5. for that purpose. Geo. gave Danny \$25.00, and said he would collect the extra \$5. from someone else later.

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"Danny, [redacted] and some of the others went over the Worker and Political Affairs Sub list. Not many people take Political Affairs.

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"They picked out 3 names from the Worker Sub list to whom they wanted to send a sample copy of Political Affairs, with the Montana party paying for them. This was agreed to. Geo. gave Danny \$1.50 to pay for them.

"They discussed recruiting new members. Danny had met [redacted] and [redacted] in Great Falls. He said he didn't expect [redacted] to rejoin because they had too many political irons in the fire. Also he wasn't very enthused about [redacted]

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"Edna, Erma and [redacted] discussed Harold and [redacted] and [redacted] Everyone had doubts about their becoming party members. It wasn't decided whether they would be asked to join. The [redacted] might take Danny out to talk to them.

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BT #100-721

"Danny asked if they knew anyone in Idaho who might be contacted with the view of activating the party there. The [] thought they might furnish him with names of some people there.

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"The meeting ajourned at about 5: p.m.

"Geo. said he had arranged things at home so he could stay over until tomorrow. [] said maybe they could visit the Flathead area while he was there. Geo. said he had to be home Thursday evening. [] said Danny was staying over until Friday afternoon.

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"Danny said there was a few things he wanted to talk over with Geo. Danny said Geo. had asked by mail for some dues reporting forms. He gave Geo. some of them.

"Danny said Montana had not completed their Hall-Davis Defense quota. Geo. said they had, and showed Danny a letter from Hall-Davis thanking them for completeing it.

"Danny gave Geo. 3 receipts. they were,

"10/1/65, \$10.50, Puerto Rico solaridy
contribution, signed by H

"7/28/65, \$15.75, per capita dues " " D

"Oct 6/ 65, \$15.75 " " " " H

"Danny said that Montana had not ordered many pamphlets and leaflets. Geo. said he had written to the National Office a couple of years ago, explaining that to get a sample, than order, than remail, took too long between the printing and the reading. That he had asked them to send him 15 of everything, as they came off, and bill him for them. But that nothing had come of it.

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"Danny said he would be happy to send those things that way if the offer was still good. Geo. said that it was.

"Danny said the December conference might not be on the 4th. That it might be one week or two weeks later. That he would let Geo. know by just saying in a letter, One week later or two weeks later as the case may be.

"The next morning, Oct. 21, [] Geo and Danny discussed whether to drive into Great Falls to visit [] or to drive to Augusta and visit [], who runs the Lazy B bar there.

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[] said that Ben was still quiet progressive even tho he ran a bar and had been out of contact for a long time. [] said he expected Ben would given some money.

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[] called [] and learned the [] were not there. So they went to Augusta. [] introduced Geo. and Danny to Ben. Niilo told Ben they were trying to raise some money. Danny said they needed money to defend McCarran act victims. That they were winning cases, but more people were being arrested right along, and defense expenses kept mounting. Ben gave Danny \$10.00. Danny asked Ben to subscribe to the Worker. Ben said he just didn't have time to read, that he was too busy.

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"After they left Ben's place, Danny gave Geo. the \$10., and told Geo. to start the Progressive Literature agent fund with it.

"After they returned to [] place, Geo. and [] discussed the fact they had not settled the matter of who would sign the appeal for funds letter. [] said his place probably couldn't be red-baited any more than it was now, and he agreed to sign the letter and use his address.

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BT #100-721

"Geo. and [] agreed to make the trip to the Flathead beginning on Nov. 7.

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"Just before Geo. left, Erma suggested it might be best to have the next meeting at Conrad, as there might seem to be too much activity in Fairfield. Geo. agreed that would be o'k.

"Danny said he expected to see Geo. in New York in December.

"Geo. left Fairfield at about 3:00 p.m."

ACTION:

Index name of []

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Xerox copies of the three receipts referred to in the report are attached to the copy of this memorandum filed in 100-4869. The originals were returned to the Informant.

**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF SEPTMEBER 30, 1965**

The following figures are set out according to states,
field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES

Alabama	2	Maine	0	Pennsylvania	116
Alaska	0	Maryland	36	Rhode Island	7
Arizona	15	Massachusetts	82	South Carolina	0
Arkansas	1	Michigan	180	South Dakota	5
California	844	Minnesota	157	Tennessee	0
Colorado	7	Mississippi	0	Texas	17
Connecticut	33	Missouri	44	Utah	14
Delaware	0	Montana	18	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	5	Nebraska	1	Virginia	4
Florida	35	Nevada	0	Washington	159
Georgia	3	New Hampshire	2	West Virginia	9
Hawaii	0	New Jersey	65	Wisconsin	100
Idaho	5	New Mexico	6	Wyoming	0
Illinois	317	New York	1,124	<u>Total</u>	<u>3,632</u>
Indiana	27	N. Carolina	0		
Iowa	3	N. Dakota	20		
Kansas	4	Ohio	97		
Kentucky	0	Oklahoma	9		
Louisiana	6	Oregon	51	Puerto Rico	12

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	10	Indianapolis	27	Oklahoma City	9
Albuquerque	6	Jackson	0	Omaha	4
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	0	Philadelphia	95
Atlanta	2	Kansas City	6	Phoenix	15
Baltimore	36	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	30
Birmingham	1	Las Vegas	0	Portland	51
Boston	91	Little Rock	1	Richmond	4
Buffalo	18	Los Angeles	562	St. Louis	42
Butte	23	Louisville	0	Salt Lake City	14
Charlotte	0	Memphis	0	San Antonio	5
Chicago	317	Miami	28	San Diego	21
Cincinnati	11	Milwaukee	100	San Francisco	261
Cleveland	86	Minneapolis	182	Savannah	1
Dallas	6	Mobile	1	Seattle	159
Denver	7	Newark	65	Springfield	0
Detroit	180	New Haven	33	Tampa	7
El Paso	3	New Orleans	6	Washington Field	5
Honolulu	0	New York	1,098		
Houston	3	Norfolk	0		

Total 3,632
San Juan 12

*rec'd by Bureau
11/15/65 for information*

100-80638-2170

<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>		<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	33	2	Connecticut	33
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District	95	5	Pennsylvania (Eastern) Delaware	95 0
Illinois District	317	12	Illinois (Excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only)	317 0
Indiana District	27	2	Indiana	27
Maryland-D. C. District (Listed Under Southern Region)				
Michigan District	180	8	Michigan	180
Minnesota-Dakota District	182	8	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	157 20 5
Missouri District	46	3	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	44 2 0
Montana District	18	1	Montana	18
New England District	93	5	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	2 0 2 82 7
New Jersey District	65	4	New Jersey	65
New York District	1,124	28	New York	1,124
Northern California District	269	11	California (North of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	269
Northwest District	164	8	Washington Idaho Alaska	159 5 0
Ohio District	100	5	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Section)	97 3

DISTRICTS - (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	10	1	Oklahoma	9
			Arkansas	1
Oregon District	51	3	Oregon	51
Southern California District	575	17	California (Exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Kern Counties)	575
Southern Region	105	6	Alabama	2
			Florida	35
			Georgia	3
			Kentucky	0
			Louisiana	6
			Mississippi	0
			South Carolina	0
			Tennessee	0
			Texas (Excluding 17 western counties)	14
			(Proposed but unconfirmed new enlarged Maryland-D. C. District)	
			Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia & North Carolina District	
			Maryland	36
			District of Columbia	5
			Virginia	4
			North Carolina	0
Utah District	14	1	Utah	14
Western Pennsylvania District	21	2	Pennsylvania (Western)	21
Wisconsin District	100	5	Wisconsin	100
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	43	3	Arizona	15
			Colorado	7
			Hawaii	0
			Iowa	3
			Kansas	2
			Nebraska	1
			Nevada	0
			New Mexico	6
			Texas (17 western counties)	3
			West Virginia (Exclusive of the four panhandle counties)	6
			Wyoming	0
<u>Total</u>	3,632		<u>Total</u>	3,632
TERRITORIAL POSSESSION	12		Puerto Rico	12

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>12/31/64</u>	<u>3/31/65</u>	<u>6/30/65</u>	<u>9/30/65</u>
Albany	11	10	10	10
Albuquerque	5	5	5	6
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	3	3	2	2
Baltimore	38	37	36	36
Birmingham	1	1	1	1
Boston	102	95	93	91
Buffalo	20	20	20	18
Butte	23	23	23	23
Charlotte	2	2	1	0
Chicago	334	303	308	317
Cincinnati	9	11	11	11
Cleveland	144	144	86	86
Dallas	7	7	6	6
Denver	5	5	10	7
Detroit	180	180	180	180
El Paso	2	2	3	3
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	3	3	3	3
Indianapolis	38	29	28	27
Jackson	0	0	0	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	6	6	6	6
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Las Vegas	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	1	1	1	1
Los Angeles	599	575	571	562
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	22	24	27	28
Milwaukee	102	102	100	100
Minneapolis	184	183	182	182
Mobile	1	1	1	1
Newark	64	64	65	65
New Haven	34	33	33	33
New Orleans	6	6	6	6
New York	1,385	1,073	1,103	1,098
Norfolk	1	1	1	0
Oklahoma City	9	9	9	9
Omaha	4	5	4	4
Philadelphia	99	96	95	95
Phoenix	19	14	15	15
Pittsburgh	24	30	29	30
Portland	52	52	52	51
Richmond	4	4	4	4
St. Louis	39	40	40	42
Salt Lake City	15	15	15	14
San Antonio	5	5	5	5

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (Con't)

	<u>12/31/64</u>	<u>3/31/65</u>	<u>6/30/65</u>	<u>9/30/65</u>
San Diego	23	23	23	21
San Francisco	259	256	258	261
Savannah	1	1	1	1
Seattle	192	186	186	159
Springfield	0	0	0	0
Tampa	2	3	2	7
Washington Field	6	5	5	5
<hr/>				
<u>TOTALS</u>	4,085	3,693	3,665	3,632
San Juan	12	12	12	12

COMMUNISTS CLAIM SURGE IN MEMBERS

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Dec. 6—Asserting that he "doesn't want to scare the American people," Gus Hall, chief spokesman for the Communist party in America, said today that the party was experiencing the greatest upsurge in its history.

Membership has jumped by 1,000 or 2,000 above its 10,000 total of a year ago, he said at a news conference.

Mr. Hall has been conducting party meetings in the Midwest in preparation for the party's open convention to be held in the spring either in Chicago or New York City.

James West, spokesman for the Illinois Communist party, said the Supreme Court's decision last month relieving party members of the requirement that they register as agents of a foreign power had led to a rush for information and membership.

Mr. West said the court's decision also has made it possible for the party to plan for the convention and to take steps necessary for Communists to run for public office.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. Times
EDITION Late City
DATE 12-9-65
PAGE 36

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ~~X~~

100-80638-2171
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
DEC 7 1965
42 FBI - NEW YORK
JWA

12/8/65

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)
CPUSA; INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

THE "NEW YORK TIMES" ISSUE OF DECEMBER SEVEN, SIXTY FIVE, CONTAINED AN ARTICLE CAPTIONED "COMMUNISTS CLAIM SURGE IN MEMBERS", WHEREIN IT IS REPORTED THAT GUS HALL STATED AT A DECEMBER SIX, SIXTY FIVE NEWS CONFERENCE ^{IN CHICAGO} ".... THAT THE PARTY WAS EXPERIENCING THE GREATEST UPSURGE IN ITS HISTORY...." AND "...MEMBERSHIP HAS JUMPED BY ONE THOUSAND OR TWO THOUSAND ABOVE ITS TEN THOUSAND TOTAL OF A YEAR AGO". THIS ARTICLE ALSO QUOTED JAMES WEST AS SAYING THAT THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION LAST MONTH HAS LED TO A RUSH FOR INFORMATION AND MEMBERSHIP.

CONTACT OF INFORMANTS BY THE NYO INDICATES THAT NO INFORMATION HAS BEEN DEVELOPED RELATIVE TO ANY 'UPSURGE' AS REPORTED ABOVE. SEVERAL PSI'S OF THE NYO HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING

- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-128817 (NYD-MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-79717 (CPUSA-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-129802 (CPUSA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (42)

JGF: gmd
(7)

100-80638-2172

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters J
42

PAGE TWO

NY 100-4931

TO ESTABLISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTY, BUT IN SPITE OF THEIR CONTINUING OVERT SOLICITATION, NO EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE BY ANY PARTY PERSONNEL TO TAKE THESE PSI'S INTO THE PARTY.

A HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE OF THE NYO, WHICH HAS ACCESS TO RECORDS CONTAINED IN CPUSA HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK, ADVISED THAT AS RECENTLY AS DECEMBER SEVEN, SIXTY FIVE, NO INFORMATION WAS CONTAINED IN THESE RECORDS INDICATING ANY RECENT INCREASE IN COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

IT WOULD APPEAR HALL'S CLAIM TO A CURRENT "UPSURGE" IS EXAGGERATED. HOWEVER, THE NYO RECOGNIZES THIS CLAIM AS A FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF THE ENTHUSIASTIC OPTIMISM OF THE PARTY TOWARD A MEMBERSHIP INCREASE, BASED LARGELY ON RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISION OUTLAWING MEMBERSHIP REGISTRATION PROVISION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT. NYO RECOGNIZES THEIR DEFINITE POTENTIAL FOR SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN PARTY MEMBERSHIP AS THE PARTY HAS ALREADY DISPLAYED EVIDENCE OF INCREASING OPEN ACTIVITY. ALL INFORMANTS, SOURCES AND APPROPRIATE PERSONNEL OF NYO HAVE BEEN ALERTED TO SUCH INCREASED ACTIVITY AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP THE BUREAU FULLY INFORMED OF SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-74866)

12/16/65

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33742)

CP, USA - UNITED
IS - C
(OO:NY)

CG 5324-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided the following information on November 12, 13, and 21, 1965, to SAs [redacted] and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

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THIS INFORMATION IS BEING FURNISHED TO YOU ON BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS AND YOU ARE CAUTIONED THAT EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED WITH RESPECT TO ANY DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED AS THIS INFORMATION, BY ITS VERY NATURE, TENDS TO IDENTIFY THE INFORMANT. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS RECEIVED FROM SOURCES OTHER THAN CG 5324-S* AND NY 604-S*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED, EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM, IN ANY COMMUNICATION PREPARED FOR DISSEMINATION OUTSIDE THE BUREAU.

During the early part of November, 1965, it was learned that [redacted], a former American now residing in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and working for the World Federation of Trade Unions in that city, turned over a dues payment which covered dues for himself and the following individuals through December, 1965, in the CP, USA: [redacted] his wife; [redacted] another former American residing in Prague; [redacted] wife of [redacted]

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The above dues payment constituted approximately \$5 American dollars and on November 21, 1965, this money was transmitted to New York together with the purpose thereof for recording this dues payment in CP, USA records.

- ② - New York (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-33638 (CP, USA - Membership))
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - A) 134-26 Sub D-33a)

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DAVE:LDW
(3)

100-80638-2173

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 20 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

12/27/65

A I R T E L

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32208)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Re my airtel dated 1/6/65.

Set forth below is a chart reflecting up-to-date membership figures for the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD)

Club	Positive Identifi- cation	Tentative Identifi- cation	White	Negro
24th Ward Club	8	0	5	3
Southwest Club	6	0	2	4
Unity Club	6	0	0	6
5th-6th CD Club	9	0	8	1
Jewish Club	5	0	5	0
Professional Club	7	0	7	0
Youth Club	17	0	13	4
Trade Union Club	9	0	7	2
Bucks Co. Club	4	2	6	0
York-Lancaster, Pa., Club	4	0	4	0
Unassigned	9	0	8	1
	<u>84</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>21</u>
Delaware State	0	0	0	0
Total	<u>84</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>21</u>

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- ① - New York (100-80638) (Info) (RM)
- 3 - Philadelphia
 - 1 - 100-33208
 - 1 - 100-31723 (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION)
 - 1 - 100-1502 (CPEPD)

CJW:lcp
(7)

100-80638-274

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 29 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walters

PH 100-32208

An explanation of the fluctuation in figures for the quarters ending 12/31/65 and the quarter ending 9/30/65 is set forth below:

(1) 24th Ward Club

Unchanged.

(2) Southwest Club

Unchanged.

(3) Unity Club

[REDACTED]

b7D

(4) 5th-6th CD Club

On 12/3/65, [REDACTED] reported [REDACTED] is now unassigned and [REDACTED] has returned to the Party and been assigned to this club. Also, some of the older Jewish members formed the Jewish Club, including [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] On 12/2/65, [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] formerly assigned to the Youth Club, is now a member of the 5th-6th CD Club and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] are now members of the Trade Union Club. [REDACTED] is unassigned.

(5) Jewish Club

As noted above, some of the older Jewish members are now members of the Jewish Club.

(6) Professional Club

Informants stated [REDACTED] has resigned from the Party and her husband, [REDACTED] has been assigned to the Trade Union Club.

b6
b7C

(7) Youth Club

Informants reported [REDACTED] [REDACTED] have dropped from the Party. [REDACTED] is attending MIT and not included. [REDACTED] previously

b6
b7C

PH 100-32208

carried as tentative members, have not been reported as CP members since July and August 1962 and are being dropped. [redacted], although studying in Moscow, has been granted a leave of absence but is still carried on the rolls.

b6
b7C

(8) Trade Union Club

Informants reported the members of this club are [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(9) Bucks County Club

Party and [redacted] reported [redacted] dropped out of the Party and [redacted] reported [redacted] is unassigned.

b6
b7C
b7D

(10) York-Lancaster, Pa., Club

Unchanged.

(11) Unassigned

Informants reported [redacted]

[redacted] are unassigned. [redacted] [redacted] has dropped from the Party and [redacted] have been assigned to the Trade Union Club.

b6
b7C
b7D

(12) Delaware State

Unchanged.

On 11/24/65, [redacted] reported that IRVING GOFF, District Organizer, stated on 11/23/65, that according to the collection of dues there are about 80 members in the CPEPD.

b7D

12/27/65

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-242-Sub 1) (C)

CP, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Re SA airtel to Bureau dated 10/5/65.

On the best available information, there are an estimated five (5) CP members or sympathizers who are suspected of being CP members in the territory covered by the San Antonio Division. Of these five, one of them can be positively identified as a CP member, and two can be tentatively identified as CP members. The other two are security informants who are active present CP members.

1. Total Number of Negroes Included in the Over-all Numerical Strength of the CP, USA in the San Antonio Territory 0
2. Name and Title of each Negro Included in this Total Who Maintains National Level Position 0
3. Name and Title of Each Negro Included in this Total who Maintains a District Level Position Above the Status of "Club Chairman" 0

3 - Bureau (AM RM)

② - New York (100-CP, MEMBERSHIP) (AM RM)

1 - San Antonio

JMK-djw

(6)

100-80638-2175

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SA 100-242-Sub 1

The five individuals mentioned above are herewith tabulated by nationality, race, sex, employment, known veterans, and known union members:

Nationality:

American 5

Race:

White 5

Sex:

Female: 1
Male: 4
Total 5

Known Veterans 2

Union Members 0

Employment:

Bookkeeper 2
Housewife 1
Salesmen 2
Total 5

On 12/22/65, [redacted] advised that JOHN STANFORD continues as the main CP leader in San Antonio. He has been a CP member and leader in San Antonio from at least July, 1957, to the present time. He continues his efforts to strengthen the CP in this area. STANFORD has been a San Antonio representative on the State Committee of the CP of Texas from at least July, 1957. He has been Executive Secretary of the CP of Texas from at least February, 1958. In January, 1962, the State Committee and its offices were technically abolished; however, it was agreed that the committee and its officers would continue to function, and STANFORD has continued to do so to the present time.

b7D

Date received 1/26/66	Received from (name or symbol number) [Redacted]	Received by SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted]
--------------------------	---	---

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device type written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant <u>1/26/66</u>	Date of Report 1/24/66
	Date(s) of activity 1/15-20/66

b6
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b7D

Brief description of activity or material

A General Summary Report on the Meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA and differences among the CPUSA leadership.

File where original is located if not attached

[Redacted]

Remarks: Dissemination of this information should be carefully paraphrased to avoid compromising this informant. Portions of this memo were included in Miami LHM dated 2/4/66, under CPUSA ORGANIZATION caption and a separate letter prepared on info on pages 20 & 21 & sent to Bureau and appropriate field offices covering areas described.

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- 1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
- 1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
- 1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
- 1 - 100-44781 (CLARA COLON)
- 1 - 100-117708 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100-128255 [Redacted]
- 1 - 100- (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- 1 - 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
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100-80638

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100-80638-2176

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MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. convened in New York City the three full days of January 15-16-17, 1966. The sessions were usually from 8 and 9 AM, until around 6 P.M. Two of the three evenings were occupied with conferences and gatherings on specific subjects and involving specific people active in such areas.

Though this was a ~~specific~~ meeting of the National Committee and all present understanding ^{this} ~~it as such~~, the gathering was designated as a "National Perspectives Conference". This was possibly due to some kind of legal advice and caution stemming from the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court which invalidated a section of the McCarran Anti-Subversive Act affecting the Communist Party.

The Conference was arranged and held with cognizance of certain legal matters. This is seen in the announcement by Henry Winston on opening of the meeting that John Abt, General Counsel of the Party, was invited to sit with the Conference during its duration for the purpose of rendering whatever legal advice might be needed on any matter.

Also prior to and following the Conference a stream of Committee and Commission meetings, ⁶ and ⁷ a large number of individual appointments and discussions were held with various district and State leaders and others active in specific areas of "mass work."

Thus, on January 14-15 the National Board and Secretariat of the National Committee held marathon meetings trying to polish up or resolve differences over the Resolution to be submitted to the Conference; of clarifying and agreeing to certain subjects and formulations in Hall's report to the Conference; and to agree on general decisions and guidelines for the National Convention preparations, financial drive, of launching the campaign around the new Draft Program, and other problems.

These sessions were day-long and extended into the evenings and were often inconclusive (and many proposals came before the general conference in inconclusive form) primarily due to a considerable confusion over some changes of policy and its emphasis, but also because of an evident disagreement and opposition to various proposals by some of the party leadership. Underneath ^{lying} everything a definite factionalism among segments of the national leadership was very obvious.

Following the Conference, on January 18-19 (and a few on the 20th) a number of Commissions and discussions took place. Among ^{them} ~~such~~ was that of the National Negro Commission, National Youth Commission, Latin-American Commission, etc. Prior to this, on the evening of January 15th, a four-hour meeting was held consisting of all District and State Organizers and their organizational secretaries. This conference was intended to specifically implement the tasks and responsibilities facing the Party in form of a precise examination of how it stands in the peace movement per locality; of the organizational and financial steps required to prepare the National Convention; of the steps needed in launching

a national campaign and big noise around the new Draft Program; and of quotas and responsibilities for the financial campaigns which will exceed some \$300,000 by mid-summer. Elsewhere in this report reference will be made to the meetings and decisions of various of these Conferences.

This National Committee meeting was attended by close to 100 people. An attendance list of approximately 85 has *already* been submitted, ~~earlier~~. Excepting Missouri, there were representatives from every State and District where the Party has any kind of organization. In effect its quality was that of a small, working National Convention. Although designated as a "Political Perspectives" gathering, which in Party terms would mean a generalized gabfest concerning "issues" and "orientation", its actual character was that of a policy meeting of the National Committee, with only National Committee members voting (when policy votes were taken), but including a large circle of other leaders and activists to be directly informed and mobilized to carry out the policies and campaigns adopted at this time.

Therefore, the essential purpose of this meeting of the National Committee was to very greatly refurbish its policies and tactics to ~~more correspond~~, or keep apace with, recent fast-running changes in the national and international situation, ^{to avoid} ~~else suffer~~ an isolation from fast moving events and lose out, leadership-wise, to other and newer forces now appearing on the scene, and especially those forces and trends which reflect, represent or outrightly champion a more vigorous, militant and revolutionary posture--especially the pro-Chinese ~~orientated~~ elements.

Any retention or further pursuance of the line and policy which CP USA has followed the past several years, which in all its aspects was the Khrushchchev line of co-existence, peaceful transition to socialism, and for a detente and amicable relationship with the United States, would result in its total loss of any leadership of the radical forces; and even more so than at present, have it identified as being "soft" on imperialism and an appendage to and apologist of the imperialist forces.

Since the Hall leadership of CP USA is most closely identified with the former Khrushchchev, and present Kosygin-Brezhnev leadership of CP USSR, its every policy position hitherto has fully accorded with that of the CP USSR. Any change or modification in the outlook and "orientation" of Hall and the CP USA leadership cannot be ascribed to any independent judgement or appraisal of conditions, but will reflect and correspond to that of the Soviet leadership.

It is from this viewpoint and yardstick that the modifications of policy or changed stress on national and international questions taken by this meeting of the CP USA leadership must be judged.

To do ^{this} so, and considering the line and policy of CP USA until now (attitude to President Johnson, attitude to George Meany and the trade union leadership, attitude on the question of war, Viet Nam, etc) it is quite obvious that this meeting of the National Committee reflected a very great hardening of line, of establishing a most sharp and hostile attitude and of a more militant and revolutionary type than that pursued hitherto.

Whether this represents a true reflection of the present actual policies of the USSR may be left to speculation or better judgements. But if CP USA is any mirror of changes in the outlook and policies of the leadership of the USSR, the nature of the decisions of this National Committee meeting would so verify it.

The essential content of these NC decisions on a number of main contentious questions among Communists, bring CP USA much closer to the Chinese position on these matters. This does not infer that the CP USA leadership now becomes pro-Chinese and anti-Soviet, but rather that the Soviet leadership is shifting in face of an obvious growth of pro-Chinese influence in world Communist circles, and CP USA follows a tactical shift of the Russians.

Recent changes in the international situation (as viewed from Communist eyes) has expanded the national liberation struggles, has greatly widened the anti-imperialist battles, has aroused larger elements of nationalist and anti-United States sentiments, has tended to discredit the USSR, Tito, and other "revisionist" elements in the world communist movement; and has, undeniably, brought about in the eyes of these elements a greater respect for and belief in the correctness of the arguments and policies of the Chinese Communist Party.

The war in Viet Nam has served to create many of the new changes which confront the world communist movement. This in turn has resulted in creation of a world anti-USA peace movement often outside of and apart from the work of the Communist Parties. This entire situation places the

position of the Soviet Union (~~to be~~^{and so} interpreted by many) as being "soft" on imperialism, ^{as} ~~of~~ actually being opposed to the liberational war of the Viet Liberation Front, of desiring peace at any cost and even at expense of the national wars of small nations ^{because} ~~in consequence~~ of their own specific Russian interests.

The role of the USSR in seeking ways to end the war in Viet Nam for fear ^{that} such wars may engender world wars is interpreted as collusion with the aggressors, of hostility to national wars, of uniting with imperialism. From all this the Chinese, who promulgate these attacks, win ground in many radical quarters.

The recent Tri-Continental Congress of Asia-Africa-Latin America in Havana, with delegates from nearly 100 nations (including 50 of the newly independent) and some 500 delegates from throughout the world, was considered a distinct ideological and political victory for the Chinese and a great weakening of the established Soviet position. At this conference the hard line speeches and proposals of the Chinese, Cuban, North Viet, North Korean, and Latin American guerrilla delegations overwhelmed the ^{more moderate} ~~proposals~~ of the Soviet delegation.

These changes in the international situation, all of which may hurriedly be characterized as "creating mass political conditions of the highest objective kind" in favor of militant and revolutionary postures and policies, also reflect the situation in the United States.

The deepening crisis in Viet Nam and the uncertainties of thousands of Americans concerning it; the rise of a

large national peace movement which embraces large and important segments of the American people (clergy, students, Negroes, scientists, professionals); the many demonstrations, peace marches, burning of draft cards, several cases of self-immolation, etc, has brought about a great mass movement which churns and boils.

These events have grown up and spread not ^{primarily} in consequence of CP USA efforts or policies but largely apart from it. To grasp and lead and capitalize this upsurge cannot be achieved by the CP USA on ^{the} basis of existing attitudes and policies, which this upsurge largely rejects, is not impressed with, or actually scoffs at, ^{as conservative, "fuddy-duddy"} or of a fearfulness of the "enemy".

Consequently, together with the first conclusion that for similar and greater reasons the USSR must take on a more militant stance to contest growing pro-Chinese leadership on a world scale, the CP USA ^{follows to} ~~must~~ modify its policies, tactics and slogans to assume a more militant, more anti-imperialist stance or else face the possibility of playing no role or exercising no important leadership of mass movements which grow steadily.

It is from the viewpoint of the foregoing two conclusions that you should examine and assess the Political Resolution presented to this Conference; examine and assess the report rendered by Gus Hall; and when it appears, to examine and assess the Draft Program.

You will observe in this Resolution and Hall Report terminology, appraisals, formulations, etc, which have not appeared in the CP USA for a long time. The attack against American imperialism, against the Administration and President Johnson; against the American policies vis a vis Viet Nam

the new and accentuated policy of hostility and opposition to Meany and the "reactionary" trade Union leadership (now tagged as the "Meany-Lovestone pro-war axis,") are reflective of the new, more militant and revolutionary line which is substituted for the hitherto existing policy. As is known the old line was a "positive" view to the Administration and often an apology for its actions; a line of support stretching from Eisenhower, to Kennedy, to Johnson as "desiring peace", etc; a line of "positive approach" to the trade union leadership and stern reprimand to any member who attacked ~~them~~^{it}.

On this latter matter, Hall actually counseled the Conference to generate within the trade unions "groups, factions, caucuses, I dont care what you call them." This is a return to the long-forgotten ~~of~~ rank and file oppositional activities and inner-caucuses to make life miserable for union officials unless they embrace the programs dictated by Communists.

The new, hard line is also indicated by an unexpected attack against Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, now placed on a par with Meany as a "misleader." Speeches at this Conference followed the line of the editorial in the WORKER a few days before (January 11) and which was a carefully prepared statement of policy position. "Roy Wilkins is to the Negro freedom movement what George Meany is to the labor movement (who) misled and weaken the great organizations they head when they raise their voices in anger against the crusaders for peace and take the side of the war hawks."

The hard line is also indicated by the content of the two articles prepared for the WORKER by George Meyers which deal with southern conditions and problems. These lay out a severe attack against the Administration, and in terminology not used by CP USA for a long time.

I append separately a 17-page Political resolution which was handed each member of the National Committee to read but then obliged to return to the Secretariat. The copies were issued with a number to whom given and carefully checked as having been returned. In Party terms it is considered a classified document. NC members were permitted to read it and make notes but not permitted to retain it.

A review and study of this resolution will show the ~~most~~ sharp^{est} change in ^{the} position of the CPUSA on questions of war and peace, on the domestic situation, attitude to Administration, relations with other forces, and its suggested sharp tactical changes. The very quality of the terminology expresses the political content of the new, hardened line:

"...The Johnson Administration has resorted to a policy of increased aggression...the rapacity and aggressiveness of U S imperialism remains undiminished...the naked aggression against Viet Nam and armed invasion of the Dominican Republic have catapulted the world into a new crisis. These aggressive acts are not the result of rash decisions taken on the spur of the moment. They are the product of a policy of imperialist aggression, a policy which seeks to stop the clock of history by armed might, to stem the world-wide tide of revolution...It is a doctrine of mass murder and pillage, of the preservation and extension of a system of national exploitation and oppression, all for the enrichment of a handful of giant U S corporations."

The essence of this report is to signalize a new and very sharp change in the orientation, outlook, policies.

attitudes, slogans, tactics, group and united front relationships, methods of mass work, methods of inner activities.

The foregoing quotation of the outlook is intended to now be the "approach" and the "line." It will be represented as more militant, more revolutionary. It is designed to capitalize upon the great social and political ferment, to try set itself at head of the ferment and movements, to now make a most serious effort to break its long isolation from mass movements, to try^{to} abandon the many old-fashioned and other-days sectarian ways of doing things, and thus expand its organizational base and membership, and weld around itself a large, periphal following.

The Party leadership deems that present conditions are such that if daring steps are taken it can break its shell, grow into a mass organization, and come to be a recognized political and social force in the nation.

Underlying all thinking is the effect and influence of the recent Supreme Court decision on the McArran Act; of breaking down the restrictions denying Communists from being trade union officials (the Archie Brown case); the somewhat legalization of the right to be a Communist working in industry (the Seattle shipyard case); the invalidation of passport restrictions; the "constant acceptance" of Communists in the mass movement (as Arnold Johnson becoming an official part of some united front peace groups); taken together with the peace movement upsurge and trends where the Civil Rights movement is tending to meld with the peace movement (Mrs. Kind in peace movement, the Bond case in

Georgia Legislature, the public statements of the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee on Viet Nam, etc) as well as "stirrings" in the labor movement, and the continuation of the youth and student movement--the Party leadership believes now is the time to "get to it" (Hall's expression) and set about to renew and regenerate the Communist Party in the U S.

It should be noted here that at this Conference there existed a considerable enthusiasm and conviction that now is the time for the Party to move and move fast. All reports, speeches, resolutions and decisions taken at the meeting was permeated with this conviction and feeling. In this respect the NC meeting was strikingly different from those held in the past several years. Those were of a generally routine, "holding operation" type which talked a lot but left everybody as glum as when they arrived. Afterward nothing much happened and things plodded until the next conference. This present conference was vastly different. While it remains to be seen how much of this new conviction and enthusiasm will translate into accomplishment, it must be noted that the nature of its decisions and specific directives will "taste good" to the average Party member who will believe he now has the "tools" with which to make gains.

It is the belief of the Party leadership that the big break can be made by a development of a three-pronged campaign. This campaign is of a type which is intended to involve every member and supporter of the Party not, as up to now alone and isolated and in an "inner" fashion, but part of

and closely allied to movements and people who are active in various struggles: the peace movement and every step possible to whip up activity around the Viet "am situation; an effort to involve an extensive public interest in the Communists by means of issuance and popularizing its Draft Program; and a big campaign to focus a greater interest and following by means of a large, public National Convention starting June 18th with a hoped-for 1000 people attending.

The internal situation within the leadership deserves a mention. The aforementioned Political Resolution was recalled because there is not agreement by the leadership on various subjects. The new Draft Program ^{was} ~~is~~ already complete ⁱⁿ ~~since~~ November but will not be issued until perhaps February 15th. Again, the cause is disagreement on a number of propositions on which the headquarters' leadership are meeting constantly. The swift international changes which obliged a swift change or modification of policy made a number of propositions in the Draft Program and Resolution contradictory and out-of-date.

The working Committee on the Draft Program is Gil Green, Hy Lumer and Al Richmond (who is doing the actual journalistic work.) Once this Committee formulates a matter for the Draft Program (resulting from a previous discussion by the leadership) they must junk it because the leadership starts re-arguing the matter.

Within the operative National leadership there are distinct basic differences and even factional maneuvering. These differences are not of a pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese type. With the death of Ben Davis the "leftist" trend in the top leadership disappeared.

Within the leadership there does not show any definite pro-Chinese viewpoint. This sentiment is, however, quite extensive among the old-guard rank and file Party members down below.

The differences presently within the leadership might be characterized as Hall, Jackson, Lumer, etc, reflecting and still tied to the old Khrushchev and now CP USSR "revisionist" line; and on the other hand, a group of leaders as Healy, Lima, Green, etc, who are more strongly revisionist than the former think it correct to ~~be~~^{be}. These people represent the thinking and outlook of the old Gates crowd, and have budged little from their position over the years. They constitute a constant body of "friendly" criticism and pressure against Hall, who is often forced to bend to their views. This group was strengthened (until recently) by Ben Davis and Bob Thompson who, though not of their persuasion at all, were factional and political opponents of Hall for other reasons. Thompson was rapidly becoming the accepted head of the general anti-Hall group until his recent death.

At present Gil Green is assuming a more aggressive role in opposition to Hall. Since his return to full activity two years ago Green, at the outset, expressed definite views contrary to the Hall line and, as he said, "put my feet too much in my mouth." These views of Green were of a distinct Rightist (revisionist) type. During this time Hall found it relatively easy to underrate Green, to keep him floating around without any definite and responsible position of work and responsibility and thus denied Green

any important base of leadership from which to operate.

When Green commenced to establish a base in Chicago, Hall maneuvered to bring him to the national center, but he was given only temporary assignments and left at loose ends. From this insecure position Green periodically ventured sharp criticisms of Hall's general line and on many specific issues, but was overwhelmed by Hall with the loud support of Stachel, Jackson, and in a lesser way, ~~by~~^{of} Lumer.

However, this has changed. The death of Thompson required the appointment of one of the top national leaders to head the New York State organization. Green was appointed mainly by default, and despite the desires of Hall.

Hall for a long time strongly desired to "clean out" the New York state set-up which has perpetually been a base of hostility to him. Prior to the 1959 Convention this State set-up was the bastion of the "leftists" under Ben Davis. After Davis, Thompson took over which was no consolation to Hall because Thompson, though not a leftist and not considered a "revisionist" was a competitor of Hall on general leadership principles. Thompson took over the large anti-Hall base and continued as a thorn to Hall until his recent death. During all this time there existed the strongest hostility and opposition between the "third and second floors" (State and National set-ups of the national headquarters.) These hostilities broke into the open very frequently.

With demise of Thompson, Hall again tried to establish a New York state setup which would once and for all eliminate New York, the second largest state Party organizat-

Green could not be denied this post because ~~of~~ the many casualties suffered by the leadership in the past several years (Dennis, Foster, Flynn, Davis, Thompson, Stachel, Perry, Jerome) had reduced the candidates qualified for it; and because Green was a recognized national leader and had twenty-five years ago already been the New York state head and when leaving for prison in the 1950's had ~~lost~~ a very good reputation among party members.

Consequently, Green took over and with his strongly evident "rightist" and "revisionist" thinking found a strong political and organizational base from which he could be independent of Hall and even afford to assume a leading and open opposition to him. As Green is, in Party terms, highly sensitive to "political questions", is looked upon as something of a theoretician, is a good writer, excellent speaker and good "mixer", he often unwittingly shows up Hall in debate, discussions and ^{initiating} ~~advancement~~ of matters to be acted upon.

To weaken Hall further, the death of Stachel deprives him of his leading hatchetman. To make matters still worse for him his other staunch hatchetman, Jackson, is now released as Editor of the WORKER and active personality in the daily operative leadership. What Jackson's future assignments will be, or the actual reason for his release from the paper is not presently fully known. It is clear, however, he will not play the same role in the active leadership as a daily polemical figure supporting Hall at every step.

Green seems to have taken courage from all this and now openly appears ~~as~~ critical of Hall. In Green's speech to this NC meeting his preface remarks were that he

endorses the Hall report "which is, as you know, something new for me, as it is known I have had strong disagreements with Gus on many questions." In stating this Green left the distinct impression that he could endorse the Hall report simply because Hall had to concede to Green the matters which had held them apart.

The day after the NC meeting adjourned this internal situation boiled over again. It was ~~over~~, as Hall said "a fight over a corpse." Earlier Hall and others had suggested that Mrs. Thompson take steps to investigate the possibility of Thompson being interred in Arlington National Cemetery with all military honors. If accepted the Party would try ^{to} get some publicity out of the matter wherein a nationally known Communist leader is buried in Arlington as a military hero.

The negotiations with the Veteran's Administration (or Arlington authorities) were successful. Mrs. Thompson was informed the internment would be on January 21 and asked if the chapel (for ceremonies) and honor guard and rifle tribute were requested. Mrs. Hall declined the chapel, rifle tribute and decided upon a most private ceremony to involve only herself, Gil Green, Clara Colon and Atty. Mary "aufman. ^{There were to be} No speeches, no delegations, no ceremonies and, ostensibly no party propaganda or involvement in the affair.

When news of this was conveyed to Hall by Green, Hall was in a meeting with Winston, Lumer and Toohey. Hall became more furious than ever known ^{before} ~~to be~~. He denounced it as a miserable factional thing. He granted that a

widow's wishes should be observed but in this case it is a pure and simple factional attack "against the party leadership" (i.e., himself) and utilization of a funeral to deny the Party any role or identity. He called attention to the composition of the "delegation" as containing no Negro, no party representative, and consisting solely of "a factional orientation." He pointed out that Thompson was in the first place not only a "husband" but a national and international Party leader; that eliminating the Party from the services was befouling Thompson's whole life under guise of "widow's wishes." He proposed an immediate meeting with Green and the others to "get the straight" of this "unheard" of thing and said he would insist that the Party be openly represented, that perhaps Winston should make plans to attend, notwithstanding what Green or would say. (How this matter all turned out is not further known, and is related in the context of describing the sharp internal situation and its frequent public explosion over the most big or little things.)

The described interplay of conflicting political ideologies and petty power-struggles constantly influence the campaigns, the policies, the policy documents of the national leadership. This more than anything explains the tugs, pulls and constant delays over issuance of the DRAFT PROGRAM which has been a project dragging for nearly two years. It also explains the withdrawal of the Political Resolution which is hereby attached for your study.

It also explains why this meeting of the NC was called.

From the beginning of his tenure in 1959 Hall has found it uncomfortable and unworkable to try ^{to} make something ^{out} of a leadership consisting of the old leadership cadre. He has looked on most of them as passe, beyond their time, incompetent, living in dreams of the past, and removed from the ~~realities~~ of present day life and realities. He has always looked in the direction of eliminating most of them and creating a new cadre base of leadership. This explains his aggressive pressure to "get onto" the youth work, to develop and draw in new cadres, to infuse the leadership in districts and national center with new people, younger people. He has often been blockaded in this by attitudes of self-preservation and efforts of those whom he has marked for removal to hang on and enjoy their place in the leadership.

The assumption of leadership in New York by Green ~~who~~ ^{was} ~~is~~ ^{LS} ~~and~~ surrounding himself with all kind of forces who dislike Hall for varied reasons, makes Hall most unhappy and very insecure. Nowadays Hall reacts to even the simplest question by first examining its possible factional and political aspect, ~~and~~ almost to ~~it being~~ ^{the point of} a psychosis.

Hall demanded this meeting of the NC and demanded it be of such large attendance. His opponents always like to work best in small and narrow committees while Hall believes he is always best ^{the} off in large groups and conferences where the opponents must act carefully. It is said that Hall had considerable difficulty getting agreement to have the NC meet in the first place, and greater difficulty in his demand that it be of such large size. He overcame all types of objections about security, recklessness, financial extravagance, and no necessity because a small working

gathering will be more productive than a "mass meeting."

However, Hall fully utilized the "new, big changes" as warranting a "big leap forward now--or not at all" to try ^{to} make a long overdue shift in the life and status of the Party. The fortuitous changes in national and international developments, which permitted the outlining of a more militant and aggressive Communist Party policy, were most helpful to Hall in his policy struggle and contest with internal opponents.

To the extent the policies and decisions of this NC meeting are successfully prosecuted, to that extent Hall will be immeasurably strengthened in his leadership and a weakening of the internal opposition. Because to that extent many new members are expected; newer and younger people are expected to be inducted into the leadership from top to bottom levels; it is expected that the Party and members will be engaged in movements and struggles and associated with non-party masses which creates a poor atmosphere for those ^{outside of} ~~not in~~ such movements ^{and only} ~~but~~ interested in internal hair-splitting.

In this sense, the NC meeting was a considerable political victory for Hall. It may therefore be expected that the decisions and outlooks of the NC meeting will be aggressively pushed by Hall, and the next six months should witness an unusual scurry of efforts and activities by the Party.

It should also be noted that, contrary to former gatherings of this kind, there existed evidence that the Party has grown and his growing in the recent period. This was reflected in a number of speeches from districts as to their

activities and experiences. It was also shown in the quality of attendance. Of the approximate 100 people attending this meeting, roughly one-third could be judged as being under 30 years of age--most in ^{the} mid-twenties. Formerly if five of 100 were under 50 ^{years} ~~(it would be exceptional.~~ Also, in and around Party gatherings, offices and areas of activities there is observable an ever-growing number of much younger people than the Party has been accustomed to seeing.

While some of this growth has taken place as result of consistent and planned work in certain areas, ~~also~~ very much has occurred where ~~the~~ people just start out "looking for the Party". Mickey Lima in his speech said he now has four applications in his pocket but doesn't know what to do with them! He does not want to place them in existing Clubs where they will be soured and disillusioned but has no new, appropriate setup to accommodate the influx of new, fresh people.

The National office, according to Hall, continues to receive a large amount of ~~mail being~~ inquiries, requests for information and literature. ^{through the mail} He also stated that many people are now speaking to him about joining the party. He vaguely referred to an "important national mass leader in the Civil Rights movement, once with us but ^{who} left, but who has worked with us cooperatively in some national struggles, now asks about the advisability of his joining the Party." (A pure speculation suggests Bayard Rustin might be the one he was speaking of, as Rustin fits this category.)

Some organizational advance may be expected also because, for the first time in some years, there was held a number of specific organizational meetings and discussions and district quotas ^{were} firmly allocated and accepted.

In addition, some definite points of concentration have been selected. In Chicago, which has limped along for so long with the ill [redacted] overburdened, plans are now underway to withdraw Jack Kling from Freiheit-Jewish work ^{to} ~~and~~ become an open district functionary. Also Lou Diskin, while continuing ~~to~~ ^{to} operate the Party book store, will become an active Party district functionary. Finally, Frances Gabow of Philadelphia is being transferred to Chicago ^{probably} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~pro-~~ ~~day~~ function as organizational secretary.

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Discussion was heard of plans to ^{create} ~~open up~~ several open Party headquarters in cities where they were long abandoned, and to have as many districts as possible have an "open, Communist spokesman." Chicago, Cleveland, Newark and Philadelphia are suggested as being first.

According to [redacted] (Organizational Secretary) the Party has need of a great amount of people for many responsible positions in districts but cannot as yet find them. He mentioned that Seattle now will need an open spokesman as Bert Nelson is returning to work as a longshoreman to take advantage of a pro-communist ruling made recently; that an open leader is needed in Boston; ^{and} ~~in~~ particularly in Atlanta and Birmingham, which are the two southern concentration points, ~~of getting a start.~~

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The foregoing is intended as a general review of the National Committee meeting and the main considerations which underlie its discussions and decisions. It is also intended as a suggestion as how to review and assess the Political Resolution, Hall's Report, Hall's Summary talk, and other documents and speeches made at the meeting.

I append to this report the Political Resolution, notes on the report made by Hall, notes on the summary talk by Hall, and individual reports on a number of specific questions, discussions, and sub-meetings which occurred. All of these should be considered as a whole in order to obtain an overall picture of this meeting of the National Committee.

Between now and the end of June--according to the decisions of this NC meeting--the Party will strive to focus intense activity and attention on the following:

1. Around the Viet Nam war in all its aspects; all possible activities within the existing non-CP peace movements and committees, as well as trying to create still others more directly influenced by the C.P. An effort to create about 100 new committees "however small" between now and October 15-16. A great attention to the March 25-26 peace demonstrations. A great effort to have scores of Party-influenced delegates and committees present at the April meeting of the National Coordinating Committee.

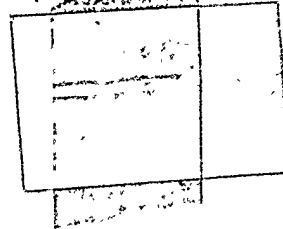
An effort to squeeze the Lynd-Aptheker-Hayden trip to Hanoi for all it is worth in propaganda. An effort to latch onto and push higher the matters arising from the exclusion of Julius Bond in the Georgia Legislature as a means of reaching Negroes and other peace supporters.

2. Efforts to launch a national campaign around the issuance of the Draft Program (see separate report).

3. An effort to break the shell of isolation and become a public force by swinging a large, national convention to embrace 1000 people, in June. (See separate report)

4. To undertake an aggressive national campaign to raise near to \$300,000 between now and June.

5. To undertake a systematic national effort to organizationally/reestablish the Party by campaigns to recruit members, to staff district set-ups, to find cadres for selected concentration areas, to open up public headquarters wherever possible, and finally to make a break by running a number of open Communist candidates for public office, as well as Communists running masked as the candidates of other parties and electoral mechanisms.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-6923)
FROM: SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: CP FUNDS
IS - C

DATE: 1/20/66

Informant: [redacted]
Activity: 1965 Dues-Membership Report
Received: 1/12/66
By: SA [redacted] personally
Location: [redacted]

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IF THIS INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU,
IT SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED CAREFULLY TO PROTECT THE INFORMANT.

The following membership-dues report was subsequently
furnished to HERSHEL WALKER, State Chairman, to take to Chicago.
The "DR" mentioned therein refers to [redacted]. Informant
advised the paid up members in the Industrial Area are: HERSHEL
WALKER, [redacted]

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[redacted], with the .15 new member being [redacted]

LEAD: It is suggested that SA [redacted]
ascertain and record the identities of the listed members of the
Community Area from [redacted]

- 1 - 100-6923 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-7448 (MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-7221 (BRIEF)
- 1 - 100-6970 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-7781 (ORG)
- 1 - 100-7625 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-599 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-12235 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-19202 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-7869 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-19975 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-7033 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-4843-1235 (COMMUNITY)
- 1 - 100-4843-5406 (INDUSTRIAL)
- 1 - 100-13746 [redacted]

- 3 - NEW YORK (RM)
- 1 - 100- (CP FUNDS)
- 1 - 100- (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]

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100-8063P-2177

Searched [initials] Indexed [initials]
Serialized [initials] Filed [initials]
JAN. 20, 1966
FBI - ST. LOUIS

HRD/rc
(19)

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"12/31/65

"Dues and membership information for Missouri
CP - 1965.

"Community Area:

"Members	Monthly dues rate	Period paid	Total
" 1	.15	Jan.-Dec. plus-1	1.95
" 7	.50	Jan.-Dec. plus-1	45.50
" 1	1.00	Jan.-Dec. plus-1	13.00
" 1	2.00	Jan.-Dec. plus-1	26.00
" 2	.15 (new)	Oct.-Dec. plus-1	1.20
" 1	(new)	Dec. plus-1	1.00
" 13 dues paying mem. in area		total area dues for year	\$88.65
"Of this amount 20% *(\$17.73) retained by area			\$17.73
			70.92
"And 30% (\$26.60) was retained by district			26.60
"Leaving 50% for National			\$44.32

"Industrial Area:

"Members	Monthly dues rate	Period paid	Total
" 7	2.00	Jan.-Dec.	168.00
" 1	.15 (new)	Nov.-Dec.	.30
" 8 dues paying mem- bers in area		Total area dues for year	168.30
"Of this amount 20% (\$33.66) retained by area			33.66
			134.64
"And 30% (50.49) retained by district			50.49
"Leaving 50% for National			\$ 84.15

"Total amount due National for entire year 1965:

"From Community Area \$44.32

"From Industrial Area 84.15

"Total \$128.47

SL 100-6923

"However as of 5/10/65 full settlement was made with D.R. of all amounts due National as of that date. Making the cut off date 5/1/65 would leave 8 months or 8/12 of the total amount due. \$128.47 divided by 12 = 10.71 times 8 = \$85.68 due National as of 12/31/65.

"The above was prepared in strict compliance with orders from Hershel Walker, State Chairman, Missouri CP, for the purpose of showing the number of paid up members of the Missouri CP to form the basis for determining the number of delegates to be sent to the National Convention, CP-USA. It does not include, at his specific request, persons who are considered nominal or inactive members, contacts or sympathizers who are known to have contributed, or donated time, money, or services to the CP during 1965, and does not include any money received from the Pro Area, or for the benefit of youth. Therefore, in my estimation, it is not an accurate statement of either membership or funds in the Missouri CP for 1965. A copy of the above report was furnished to Hershel Walker on 1/7/66."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
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